

The MIRROR of  
**FORTUNE**

Or, the true Characters of  
**Fate & Destiny.**

Wherin is Treated of the Growth and Fall of  
**EMPIRES,**

The Destruction of  
**FAMOUS CITIES,**

The Misfortunes of  
**KINGS,** and other **GERAT MEN,**

And the ill Fate of  
Virtuous and Handsom **LADIES.**

Whereunto is added  
Moral, Politick, and Natural Reflections  
upon several Subjects.

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Written in French by Monsieur *Chevreau*, and  
Newly Translated into English by *D. Decoison*.

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In the *SAVOY*:  
Printed by *T. N.* and are to be Sold by *Sam. Lowndes*,  
over against *Exeter-house* in the *Strand*: *MDC. LXXVI.*

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Licensed, Nov. 10. 1675.

*Roger L'Estrange.*

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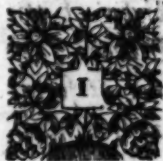
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To the Right Honourable  
THE LORD  
HOLLES,  
Baron Holles of  
I F I E L D.

My LORD



*I* *is impossible for me to find  
an Excuse to palliate my in-  
tolerable Boldness; and I wish  
this Paper and Characters  
were capable to express the  
Confusion I resent in my Soul for offering at  
your Altar a Sacrifice so unworthy of your  
Lordships acceptation, though the first  
Fruits of my untill'd Soil. Other Men  
seek the approbation and protection of those  
persons*

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

persons to whom they Present their Writings, but I despairing of the one, cannot hope for the other: For I have need rather of a protection against your Lordships just Indignation, than to seek a Refuge against other Men. But, my Lord, I will resign my self wholly to your Honours Will, knowing that you exceed no less in Bounty, than I do in Temerity. The reading of this Volume, cannot but be troublesome, as well as unprofitable to your enlightned Mind: For besides the imperfection of the Language, I am sensible that your tranquil Soul cannot take delight in the ruine of Empires, the destruction of Towns, the disorder of the Elements, the misfortunes of Princes, the distress of virtuous Ladies; nor in seeing the whole Frame of Nature in Confusion, and Fortune blindly rewarding Vice, and punishing Innocence; exalting upon the Throne Slaves and Usurpers, and precipitating from it, their Sovereigns: But, my Lord, if these Transactions cause admiration as well as pity; and if the vicissitude  
of

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

of Fortune is incomprehensible; in that she bestows and ravisheth from Men her gifts almost at the same time, and without order or regard to their merits: How shall we not admire those Men, who, wiser than she, prevent all her blows, not only for themselves, but chiefly for others; and who being employed for the publick good, find and preserve order in a Chaos of affairs. The greatest part of Europe, my Lord, is sensible of the Obligations they have to venerate your Honour; and when the Fortune of the two greatest Kingdoms thereof lay in your hands, there was nothing but sweetness and concord seen in those dayes: But when Mars display'd his Standards, then it was that your Lordships great Magnanimity, Zeal and Integrity appeared for the interest of His Most Sacred Majesty, and your Countrey, whom you so worthily and generously served. Holland is an eye-witness also of the greatest prudence that ever could shine in their Favour: and if Justice guided your Lordship, Mercy had no less

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

hand in it; which was seen in stretching a wound that had bled so long, to the loss of the two most glorious Maritime Countries; in which your Lordship made Peace and Tranquillity flourish, and consequently Plenty and Happiness. But, my Lord, these are but some effects of your Honours universal perfections, which the Muses would not suffice to rehearse. And when France and Holland saw your Lordship, they only had a short contemplation of that abridgement of Virtue which England possesseth to the envy of all the World; and which is not only generated by strangers in their Country, but also in this; and I being of the number, suffer me, my Lord, to tell you, that we should be guilty of the blackest, and most horrid ingratitude, if we did not acknowledge, by our Acclamations and Services, your Lordships Favours. But I dare not extend my self upon your Lordships Panegyrick, which is an infinite Subject, and requireth the most curious Pen: I will only content my self to admire, with other men, that which I cannot

not

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

*not comprehend, for fear to offend your Honour, by my weak expressions, which are far below my thoughts; and my thoughts far below your merits, which make all men to aspire, and I, more than all others, to take the liberty to write my self,*

MY LORD,

Your Lordships most humble,

And most obedient Servant,

*Daniel Decoifnon.*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

It may be thought, for fear to offend your Hon-  
our, by my want of expressions, which are  
not below my thoughts; and my thoughts far  
below your merits, which make all men to  
aspire, and I more than all others, to take  
the liberty to write my self.

My Lord,

Your humble servant

John Milton

Epistle Dedicatory



THE  
EPISTLE  
TO THE  
READER.



YOU will wonder Courteous Reader, That a Stranger should undertake to Write, in your Language, both for the delicacy of it, and the impossibility of attaining to it, by any Forrainer: but I will tell you, that I knowing my self as incapable in it, as any other, did not intend that the Translation of this Book, should be exposed to the view of this most Witty Age; but only a benefit to my self, in learning to Write your Language; but having done the most part of it, some Friend flattered me with a perswasion, that it would not be ill liked,

*The Epistle to the Reader.*

liked, because of the Subject, which being good, would excuse the Imperfection of Words, which are not material, but only more pleasing; and I considering the good Disposition of the Inhabitants of this Island, have ventured into the Ocean of People; knowing, that if I suffer Shipwrack, I shall still find some that will help me out; and if ever I escape this danger, I will endeavor never to fall into it again; and to give you better satisfaction on any other occasion, but I despairing of it, must remain dumb, remitting all to your goodness, Farewell.

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THE  
MIRROR  
OF  
Fortune.

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BOOK I.

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CHAP. I.

*Of Fortune.*



THE Ancients, who gave to *Fortune* the same power which Atheists are wont to give to Nature, could not forbear venerating of her; they dedicated Temples to her, and adored her as the first principle of all things, and as the universal cause of good and evil. Thus their

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Ignorance was the reason of their Worship; they employ'd all their Moral Philosophy to find out a false Religion; and of their greatest Errors they made high Mysteries; and at last they could comprehend no other Deity but that which they thought blind, worthy of their Sacrifices. Among the *Greeks*, *Vulpa* was the first Man who erected a Statue to her in the City of *Smirna*; she was represented with the Poles upon her head, and a Horn full of Plenty in her Hand, to shew her power in Heaven and Earth; that she gave to Bodies the same motion and life, which *Aristotle* attributed since to spiritual powers; and that it was by her liberality, that Men use to enrich themselves. *Aucus Martius*, Grand-son to *Numa Pompilius*, was the first of the *Romans* that built her a Temple; many since imitated his folly, thinking to imitate his adoration, and sought out in the golden Mines, and in the marble Pits, all that which could set forth the magnificence and glory of their zeal and worship to her. They made of this *Fortune* a Woman, and then a Man; they call'd her Liberal sometimes, and sometimes Covetous; she had as many several dresses, as there was opinions amongst them: and we read that they had no sooner represented her like one of the Graces, but they represented her like a Fury. When *Coriolan* to revenge himself of his banishment, and



and of the ingratitude of his Countrey, brought with the *Volsques* the ruine of *Rome*; his enemies, who feared his wrath, began to be sensible of it: those whose justice he had implored without effect, implored his mercy; and there was not one of his Judges who was not glad to receive their pardon of him whom they had condemned. The overthrow of *Rome*, the death of his friends and kindred, and the outcries of his wife and children, were too feeble objects to move him; they were forced to make use of the tears and eloquence of his mother, to moderate his resentments. And as *Coriolan* could not yield to Reason, so he could not resist to natural Affections, but raised the Siege which he had laid before his own City, and shewed his goodness where they expected nothing but his vengeance. The joy was so great at *Rome*, that the *Romans* thought themselves obliged to leave some marks of this adventure to those in after-ages; and because they imagin'd that it was necessary to make appear their acknowledgments, as soon as their good fortune, they built her another Temple; she received another in the same Garden which *Cesar* made the *Romans* heirs of, as if it was by her means that this great Man made himself Master of so many hearts and Countries, and as if she had had the greatest hand in his felicities and victories. *Sylla*, to set forth his good fortune,

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fortune, said that he was her Lover ; and *Servius Tullius* had her in such veneration, that he said she came and lay with him every night, and dedicated a Temple to her in the Capitol, under the name of *Fortune the eldest* ; and another in the name of *favorable and obedient* : in this place she was Fortune of adversity, and in the other of hope. Upon *Mount Palatine* she was Fortune private, and in other places a Virgin ; and the Heathens superstition was so ridiculous, that they made her a Beard, and were of opinion that those young men who worshipped her, should have a well-grown Beard ; and those who should scruple at it, should have as little as an Eunuch. Some Men being minded to make a Moral representation of her, have made her without feet, and not without hands and wings ; others have made her of glass, to signify that as there is nothing finer, so there's nothing more brittle. *Archilochus* put fire in her right hand, and water in her left, to no other end, but to persuade us that as those two Elements are almost the whole support of life, so she disposeth absolutely of all those things which are needful for us, and that she alone was worthy of our acknowledgments and praises. But let us come from Sculpters and Limners to our Poets ; *Boccace* feigns her with ardent eyes, with an horrible face, and hair hanging over her mouth, with an hundred arms  
and

and hands, to bestow and ravish Presents from Men, to cast down and to raise them again. Others make her a smiling countenance, as that of a Mermaid, to allure and surprize us, with a lock of hair upon her forehead, to learn us how to make use of her. Some have placed her upon a Globe, with a horn of plenty in one hand, and a scourge in the other, to instruct us that it is in her power to reward and punish; that she bestowed and took away all things, and that it was she alone we ought to hope in, and fear. *Pausanias* did not think fit she should be alone, he associated her with Love; and as he had (may be) read that it was by Love that the world began, so he would have it govern'd by Fortune: but the opinion he had of her power, was not a particular sentiment. *Salustius* and *Virgil* have made her a Sovereign, who penetrates in all the orders of Nature; and the *Romans*, above all Nations, went so far in their Idolatry, that they built her to the number of 600 Temples. It was a custom to put her Statue in the Emperors Presence Chamber; and as soon as he was dead, it was carried to the Conclave of his Successor, to let him understand that she was still above him; that she gave Scepters and Crowns, and bestowed Honours and Dignities; that she was the Arbitrator and Mistress of his Life; and that her Decrees of all

things were irrevocable. Some, to raise her power, have chained her to Destiny, thinking by that means to attain to the design they had to persuade Men that she was above all the Deities: That's the reason that in *Homer*, *Jupiter* complains of the murder of his son *Sarpedon*, whose death he could not prevent; and that he asketh his daughter in *Ovid*, If she alone thinks to avoid the inevitable Destiny? And this is the cause that she is represented on Horse-back pursued by Destiny with a Bowe and Arrow in his hand. But because we alledge these Examples but as so many Errors, which we reject; and that we point at them but by the same reason that we point at Shelves and Rocks in the Sea, to make Mariners avoid them, it is time to come from darkness to light, and from error to verity. The *Stoicks* gave to that Destiny which brought all things to a certain point, the revolution of things. And *Democrites*, who was one of the famous Men of the Sect of Epicures, attributed it to that which we call sometimes Chance. *Plato* saith, That this general change is a cause by accident in that which happens in the counsels of Men: And his Disciple *Aristotle* assures us, That it is the same Cause which is performed for some End which is not apparent, but hidden. But to speak more intelligibly without leaving his opinion, I understand by this word *Fortune*, nothing

thing else but something whose End hath not answered the expectation of him who intended it: And thus every accident is a Fortune, as well to him who should find a Treasure hid in his field, who had no other End but to Till it, as him who should be stung with a Serpent; though they have both divers subjects, the one of joy, and the other of grief. But we must not conclude that all things are done by Chance; as an Elder hath it, that the wheels of Fortune had Eyes: we must be persuaded that all things that fall out by Chance, are accidents against Mens expectation; but that doth in no wayes diminish the Prescience of God. When we have said all, Fortune is nothing but a Chimera, 'tis to our fancy that she oweth her power. We make her partake in Burning and Shipwracks, though she neither knows Fire nor Water. We bring her in Combats, and give her thanks for Victories, though she is without arms or sentiment. And to speak in right terms of her, 'tis a shadow wherewith weak Souls are kept in awe, a Being without subsistence, an operation of our Idea, and a Monster, of whom we think we receive favors and disgraces. But since I treat of this Subject more like an Historian, than like a Philosopher; and that I am less understood by reasoning, than by examples, I must describe the effects, without discovering the nature of it;

and that reason is not more essential to Man than misery; that he begun almost as soon to complain, as to speak. To prove this strongly, it is requisite to lead our wits by certain degrees, and to consider overthrown Empires, and Abysses where great Cities stood in times past. Then we will pass from dead things, to living. We will shew that the highest situations of Men are but precipices; that the fairest dayes are sometimes followed by tempestuous nights; and that the most eminent lives are not alwayes the happiest; thus we shall confess that the greatest glory is but a dream; that Oak-trees are oftner beat down by the Thunder, than Bushes; that Misfortunes hang over great mens heads, as the Thorn amongst Roses; and that all the felicity of this world is no solid happiness.

## C H A P. II.

*Of the Ruine of the first World, and of the Empire of the Assyrians.*

**T**HE first Men abandoned themselves so entirely to Evil, that each action they committed was a Parricide, and each word a Blasphemy. They were not content to add Pride to Ingratitude, they joined Insolence to both; and made use of their liberty, as of an instru-

instrument fit to execute their Passions, and to make their power seen in their Crimes ; as if all the waters of the world had not been capable to cover the horrors, and take away the memory of them. God, after he had preserved Mankind in eight persons, rained other waters for the space of 40 dayes ; and this Deluge was so great, that Men, Birds and Beasts perish'd by a common death, and all the world became a dreadful Sea. Those which God preserved from this universal Inundation, began to serve their Maker, and to fear him, knowing that this general confusion was a work of his Justice, and their life was as good as 'twas happy ; and to condemn their Divertisements, a man must condemn Innocence. Their Age was call'd *the Golden Age*, whose beauty resembled the Spring, as well as its continuance. As this people grew in number, they increased also in malice ; the rest which they possess'd was burthensom to them, and ambition was the principal cause of their change and ruine. *Nembrot*, to whom Pride and Diffidence were natural, did soon diminish the felicity of this Age ; he employ'd men about a work as ridiculous as it seem'd commendable ; he began the building of the Tower of *Babel*, to begin their Misfortunes ; and would have rais'd it to Heaven, thinking to carry his Pride there. Temerity was soon follow'd by Ambition. *Bellus*,  
the

the son of *Nembrot*, carried by an insatiable desire he had to possess all, and to reign alone, envied *Sabarius Saga* his fortune, whose surname was *Saturn*, whom *Noah* had made King of *Armenia*. He engaged *Ninus* in his enterprize, and made use of policy and arms to attack and surprize him. The success answer'd their hopes, *Sabatius* was weaker or less fortunate than his Enemies; he was forced to refugiate himself with his Grandfather *Noah*, to defend himself of their Tyrannies, and to seek his safety in his flight. Some Men are not of opinion that the first Wars were begun by this *Bellus*, first King of the *Assyrians*, they say it was by *Ninus* his son, who made himself so insupportable after the building of *Ninive*, that he declared War against *Babylon*; and could not suffer that those who should publish his magnificence, should not likewise publish his courage. He marched against them with a resolution to fight them. He raised as many So'diers as he thought there were Inhabitants in *Babylon*, and was not at all surprized at their defence and resistance, but rather made use of their stubbornness, to sharpen his ambition and his courage. He fell upon the first he met withall; he cast a fright in all hearts, and left everywhere bloody marks of his strength and fury. The *Babylonians* troubled at this, seeing that their own defence was to no purpose, grew fear-



fearful, as they grew weak; they left their Town in the night, and abandoned it to the mercy of their Conqueror, for fear of his cruelty and insolence. *Ninus* went in it the next day, proud of his victory; his Men found nobody to oppose their plundering, and every one might satisfy their ambition and avarice. The *Assyrians*, by a long process of time, made themselves redoubtful, and especially by the malice of the *Medes*, who they had made their Subjects: but these at last finding their obedience shameful, and that they thought themselves mighty enough to contend for authority with their Masters, they put themselves in a posture to usurp from their Prince, that which they had conquer'd for them, and took from them that which they had suffered them before to take. *Arbaces* knowing that *Sardanapalus's* Table did empty all the Treasures of the State, and that his Luxury was greater than his Revenue, could not live any longer under the Reign of a Prince who signalized himself but by his debauches; and thought himself not obliged to obey him, who never had the power to command himself. This bold Captain, to clear his doubts, inquired and sought for him, and at last found him amongst a company of Women. He saw he had taken their habit, as well as their effeminacy; that he had no other Counsellors but Misses; and no other

other arms than a spinning stick: He ran immediately to his companions, and recites to them the fight he had. He persuaded them that they owed no obedience to him, who thought he ow'd nothing to their services; that they might change their condition, since he had changed his Sex; and that every way their Rebellion would be more commendable than his Infamy. He is made Head of the Party, and draweth as many Men to him as he thought generous, and consults with them the loss of the King, whose Vices he could not bear, and for whose Crown he had an infinite esteem. He is followed by every one of them, and they all promise to imitate him. He conducts and encourages them, and carries his Arms and Victories so far, that *Sardanapalus* was constrained to burn himself with all his riches; and shew'd less cowardize in his last action, than he had shew'd in all his life before. During this Reign, several Kingdoms were overthrown by Wars; That of the *Caldeans*, amongst the most remarkable, was overthrown by the *Israelites*; That of the *Ethiopians*, by the Ancients Kings of *Egypt*; That of the *Trojans*, by the *Greeks*; That of the *Amazons*, by *Hercullus* and *Thessus*; That of *Cholcos*, by *Jason*; That of *Israel* and *Juda*, by *Nebuchadnezar*; and some others, of which Historiographers and Poets can give us a perfect knowledge. But because that the  
most

most Learned doth not look upon the Reign of the *Babylonians* and *Medes* as a Monarchy, but as a particular power; it is only necessary to know that *Astiages* was their last King, and that it was impossible for to avoid his ruine, what industry soever he used. He having dreamed one night, that out of his daughters Womb, came forth a Vine, which covered all *Asia*, sends for all those who had a repute in divination; he enquired of them the meaning of his dream, being uncertain whether it would turn to his glory or to his shame. The Wise men answer'd him, That his daughter should have a son, who would spoil him of his Kingdom, and whose actions should surpass his birth. *Astiages*, to turn away the misfortune that threatned him, married his daughter to *Cambyfes*, who was not at that time very considerable, neither for his virtue, nor his family; thinking thereby to smother the greatness of his Grandchild, by the meanness of his birth; and make his ambition cease, by the consideration of his low fortunes. To come from diffidence to cruelty, he fancies that the Child must no sooner be in the World, but he must be sent out of it; and that he must meet with a grave, instead of a Cradle. And for this effect, as soon as his daughter was deliver'd, the infant was given charge of to *Harpagus*, who did the most important affairs of the Kingdom, and who

who was the most judicious of all his Counsellors; but he was not at this time the most faithful. This Man, fearing that the Mother, who was to be one day his Sovereign, should revenge the murther upon her Subject, that she could not do upon the King, chose rather to disobey the King, than to be a Murtherer; and secure himself by deceit, than hazard himself by a crime. Therefore he caused this young Child, whose name was *Cyrus*; to be brought up by a Shepherd, who had an extraordinary care of him; and who, to appear no less pitiful than a Bitch had been who suckled him, when he himself was abandon'd of all the World, did out of compassion, that which another would have done out of interest, and was for a certain time a Father and Governor to him. *Astages* having notice of *Harpagus's* Treason, took his son, and commanded him to be killed in his presence, and forced *Harpagus* to eat him; that is to say, to eat his own flesh, and to drink the blood which was issued out of his own veins. *Harpagus*, in whom the horror of this action had not changed his countenance apparently, altered his humor extremely; from regret, he fell to revenge; and made so good use of the occasion, that he discovered all the business to *Cyrus*, who at that time dwelt with the *Persians*: he acquainted him with the diffidence and cruelty of *Astages*, and represented

to him Royalty so glorious, that *Cyrus* resolved to perish, or to make himself great. Seeing then that the Throne was not so high but he might scale it, he raised a potent Army, gave Battel, and won it; took *Astages*, and devests him of his Kingdom, and made himself so powerful and absolute amongst the *Medes*, that he became at last the Master of the first Empire of the World. And thus it is very apparent, that Fortune makes use of the same steps to descend, as to ascend. She casts down from the Throne a lawful King, and exalts upon it an ambitious Man. She takes a Childs part against him whose Will alone should be powerful enough to restrain the greatest power, and at last it appears, that to command, and to obey, are two extremes, between which there's no more distance, than between joy and sorrow. Here ends the Empire of the *Medes*, by the generous ambition of one Man, who begins another. But it is necessary to know that as Empires as well as days have their Sunset, as well as their Sun-rising; and that the fairest beginnings have not alwayes the best success.

## C H A P. III.

*Of the Empire of the Persians.*

**A**S long as Empires flourish, and subsist by their own Forces, they weaken those whom they have made Tributaries; and they make themselves Masters of those, whose alliance at first would have contented them: they do no less than the fire, which consumes all that which is fuel for it. But if the same vigour which they confided in, begins to decay, they are ruined by the same Maxims which they ruined others. Their weakness is the principle of their confusion and disorder, and all that they can do, is to employ for their security the same Arms which they made use of to exalt themselves. The growing and uniting of Provinces, are the first seeds of War, saith Sir *Francis Bacon*; and as soon as a State becomes too powerful, and of too great an extent, one may compare it to a great River, which is often subject to some remarkable floods and inundations. The *Persians*, who under the Reign of *Cyrus*, of *Cambyſes*, of *Darius* and *Artaxerxes*, had laid waste the Kingdoms of *Lydia*, of *Babylon*, of *Syria*, of *Judea*, of *Arabia*, of *Egypt*, of *Phrygia*, and of *Greece*, had all that which carried terror and sub-

submission in the hearts of their Neighbours; they had no Enemies left but secret ones, but yet powerful; and they acknowledged at last to their confusion, that all Empires had their Bounds, as well as their Extent; and that time brought an end to all things. *Alexander* was made King of *Macedonia*, the same year that *Darius* the son of *Arsanus*, the 14th King of *Persia*, was made Emperor of *Asia*; and as if one Kingdom could not suffice this ambitious young Prince, he was minded to shew that the execution was as easie to him as the undertaking of great things; and that he was to be the Master of those who were his Rivals; and that it would not be amiss to count his Conquests as soon as his Enterprizes. In effect, after he had gotten some advantage over the *Greeks*, he came to *Thebes*, which he intended to preserve; but as soon as he knew that the Inhabitants had railed against all their friends and all their gods, and counted him a Tyrant, he turned his patience into fury; he storm'd it, and destroy'd it with the sword and fire, and made a Desert of one of the finest Cities in the World. He signalized his ambition by other actions which were no less considerable; and because that he was of opinion that there should be but one King upon earth, as the Heavens have but one Sun, he pass'd into *Asia* with an Army which saw no danger, where there

was Plunder; and who desired nothing more than Combats, because it had no greater desire to enrich it self. *Alexander* knowing the forwardness of all his Soldiers, makes use of such a fair occasion; he attack'd the *Persians*, took from them *Sardus*, *Milessus*, and *Tyr*: and considering the number of his enemies less than his own glory, gives battel to *Darius*, and won the field. This, *Darius* did not so much look upon for the loss, as for the disgrace. He made a second attempt, to smother the number of the Conquest which *Alexander* had by his death, and in that of all his men: he tells them that they ought to defend their lives and liberties, and animates them to the revenge of their companions, and persuades them that the *Macedonians* fought with less valor than despair; and that it was better their burying places were theirs, than their Countrey. These exhortations which were not without zeal, were nevertheless without fruit; the second Combat was as unfortunate to him as the first, and nothing was left to him, had he lost courage or his hopes. He did not alter his resolution, though his condition was alter'd; he lookt upon his defeat, with the same countenance as he would have done his victory; he thought it better to make good use of ill Fortune, than to grieve at it; and never did any King turn greater Philosopher in his disgraces: Not that he



he was insensible, and ignorant of the chains which were preparing for him; but he always hoped to break through them, and thought that he was still to be fear'd, though he was to be lamented. *Alexander*, to overcome him by Courtesies, as well as by Arms, solicits him to yield, and promises him his friendship, so he will acknowledge him to be his Master, and not use him as an Equal; and let him understand, that this was the only condition upon which he could cease to be unhappy, and his sister and daughters slaves. *Darius* refuseth him that superiority; misery was pleasanter to him than subjection; he had much rather yield to necessity, than to the offers of an Usurper; and remit to Destiny, rather than to an Enemy, the choice of his loss or safety. *Alexander* at the hearing of this, neither gives him time to consider, nor to defend himself; he tells his Soldiers that those who they were to fight, were the same who they had so lately vanquish'd; that they were not strengthened in their flight; and that it was not the beauty of Arms in which victory did consist, but in virtue. In that persuasion the *Macedonians* charged the *Persians*, amongst which some fled, and the rest followed soon their example; and as *Alexander* pursued them, an *Asian* met with *Darius* in a Horse-litter wounded in several places; who knowing the man by his habit and language, *Co*, said he,

to Alexander, tell him from me, that I dye his  
 debtor, for giving liberty to my mother and chil-  
 dren; and that my friends who had received of  
 me whole Provinces, have kill'd me; that he hath  
 used me rather like a King, than a Tyrant; and  
 that death hath not taken away my resentments of  
 his favours: if my voyce is but strong enough to  
 be heard of the gods, I'll beg of them to make all  
 the world his Empire, and to make him as great as  
 he is generous; and all the favour I beg of him  
 now, is only a burying place. These were the  
 last words of Darius: which when Alexander  
 heard, and that he saw him dead, he lamented  
 his misfortune with unfeigned tears; he was  
 sorry for his victory, and caused him to be bu-  
 ried with a pomp more like a Triumph, than a  
 Funeral. Some say that Alexander saw him  
 dye, and that Darius had the satisfaction to  
 hear him utter these words: O too magnanimous  
 and too generous Prince, I confess that he who hath  
 caused thy misfortune, begins to lament them, and  
 thou hast struck thine enemies heart with a bro-  
 therly compassion. I will take more care for thy  
 mother and daughters, doubtless than thy friends  
 have done for thee: they shall praise my Clemency,  
 though they cannot my Arms; and as it is not in  
 my power to do more for the present, know that I  
 partake of thy sorrow, though I cannot partake of  
 thy wounds. It was this way that Alexander  
 conquer'd the Empire of the Persians; and  
 because

because good Fortune is never accompany'd with diffidence, and those who have good success are undaunted, he went further in his Conquest, and usurped all *Asia*. Who would have thought that a King of *Macedon* could have vanquish'd one in so little time, who commanded 17 Provinces, besides those which he had made Tributaries to himself; that 184 ships should have cleared the whole Ocean of Conquerors and Pyrates; and that 36500 men should have so prodigiously increased a little Kingdom; that it had no other bonds than those of the world: nevertheless 'tis a publick truth. 'Tis the sentiment of all the world, that *Alexander* acted great things by small means; and that he raised himself to that height of glory, to which no other man could ever attain; and that he left but little ground unconquered which was known to him: notwithstanding as the same earth produceth poyson and aliments, so it came to pass that the same Fortune who raised the *Greeks* to their glory, brought them also to their shame and confusion; and that their Empire for all its advantages, had none particular as for its continuance; and it was no more remarkable for its growth, than for its overthrow.

## CHAP. IV.

## Of the Empire of the Greeks.

WHEN *Alexander* saw that there remained nothing for his Arms to conquer, he resolved to go to *Babylon* to crown all his exploits and felicities, choosing this famous City to celebrate the triumphs and victories he had gained over all the rest. He proposed to himself to make some stay in it, to taste some rest after so many labours, that he might judge which of the two was the sweetest, the tempest, or the calm. Certain wise men opposed his design by their predictions; they represented to *Alexander*, that the stars had some ill aspects for him in that place, and that he should rather end his life there than his enterprizes; for this cause he lost at that time the thoughts of *Babylon*, and carried them upon *Byrsia*, which was situated upon the banks of *Euphrates*, which had been formerly an agreeable Desert. In this ancient solitude, *Alexander* had some conference with *Anaxarcus* the Philosopher, and demanded of him whether the opinions of the Astrologers were an effect of their ignorance, or of their malice? *Anaxarcus* replied, That there were certain fatalities which prudence ought not to oppose; and that

that foresight could not alter destiny; that it was impossible to man to avoid it, and to the most judicious to make a discovery of it. He persuaded him that this Science was as uncertain, as it was unprofitable; and that it was better for pastime, than for the mind to be taken up with; that it was by it that falshood had been first authorized. *Alexander* after this, was persuaded that the greatest knowledge of the wise men was nothing else but doubts; he fancied that to seek truth out of their mouths, or in their writings, was to seek for light in darkness; and that to believe them, was to deceive ones self. He had no sooner entertain'd these thoughts, and fallen in that opinion, but he took the way to *Babylon*: and though he had lost the memory of his former debauches, yet he resolved to follow them again, and make once more a tryal of Wine, that's to say of the greatest enemy to his glory and reason. All his repasts were riotings, and there was not so much Wine drank for thirst, as out of excess; and this great Conqueror made his felicity of the ruine of his rest, and of his life. Some who thought themselves suspicious to him, thought this too fair an occasion to lose, and made advantagious use of it, not considering whether it was not a disgrace for them to secure themselves by a crime. *Antipater*, amongst the rest, who feared *Alexander's* greatness,

ness, and who never looked upon him without trembling, took up all his mind to lay ambushes for him, and carried on his design with so much prudence and industry, that those who *Alexander* did most confide in, were the first who wrought his ruine. He had no sooner drank half of the Wine that his Steward gave him, but he was constrained to rise from Table; the pain that he felt was so great, that he had many times a mind to seek for remedy at the point of his sword, if he had not been hindred by some of his attendance. Those who knew *Alexander's* disposition, made no great matter of this accident, out of opinion they had that his intemperance had caused his distemper; that he had defects as well as other men, and that he would recover his health. In effect, drunkenness was counted his chief vice; and if Histories are true, he took such delight in it, that he ordain'd a price for those who could resist Wine most, and he himself would pass whole Nights in drinking; but however he dyed six dayes after in great torments; but he shew'd no less courage against death, than against those Nations he had vanquish'd. His constancy was as great as his pain, and he never acted more like a King, than at the last moment of his life. The loss of it, was together the loss of this potent Monarchy, it was divided afterwards in four; and if *Alex-*

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ander employ'd all his arms to extend it, his Successors employ'd all theirs to ruine it. *Cassander*, *Antipater's* son, had *Macedonia*, *Greece*, and all that was in *Europe*. *Ptolomeus* was made King of *Egypt*. *Assyria* fell to *Seleucus*. And *Antigonus* had all the rest of *Asia*. But as Kings cannot suffer any companions, and that these were of opinion that they had courage enough to make their Neighbors their Subjects, they made War likewise one with another, and each of them recommended their designs to the gods, and to fortune. *Seleucus's* ambition was the most successful, he usurp'd all *Antigonus's* Territories in *Asia*, defeated him and all his men, and took his son *Demetrius*, who dyed in Prison. After he had carried fear in the *Indies*, where he could not carry love, then there was left but three Principalities, who were at divers times weakned by *Roman* Consuls, and who at last were destroy'd by *Sylla's* good fortune, by the valor of *Lucullus*, and the invincible courage of *Pompey*. *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, in whom those three members of that great Empire struck admiration as well as emulation, lookt upon them no otherwise than upon a thing which he can easily make his own; and as he had no less design than the conquest of *Asia*, he took *Bithinia*, that he might have the freer passage. He had no other reason for this War, but his will. His taking of  
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this Kingdom made all the rest fear; all that he liked, seemed easie to him; and the terror he struck in *Asia*, opened him a way in *Europe* so successfully, that by the means of Lieutenants *Archelaus* and *Neoptolemus*, he became Master of the *Cyclades*, of *Delle*, of *Negrepont* and *Athennes*: he was so proud of all his proceedings, that he went almost as far as the gates of *Rome*. But *Lucius Sylla* overcame violence by violence, chas'd him out of *Italy*, took *Athenes* in his way, expelled *Mithridates*'s Garisons out of *Bostia* and *Negrepont*, defeated him near *Charonia* and *Orchomenia*, in two Battels, and might have taken away from him all hope, if *Lucius* had not been readier to embrace his triumph, than to assure himself of victory. This forced *Mithridates* to treat with him, and to yield *Asia* to the *Romans*, after he had been forced to render *Cappadocia* to King *Ariobarzans*, and *Bithinia* to *Nicamedes*. Nevertheless *Mithridates* resolved either to command or to dye in *Asia*, he marches in it with new Forces, besiegeth *Cyzique*, which was as famous in fair marble Towers and Riches, as by its strength and rampars: and had carried it doubtless, if besides the enemies he had so opposed, he had not had Famine and the Plague to fight with. He had no sooner raised the siege, but *Lucillus* followed that which was left of his Army, of whom he made such a slaughter, that the blood  
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of his Soldiers changed the colour of the River *Lazarus* and *Euphrates*, and would have ruin'd him absolutely, if his men had been as mindful of their glory, as of their avarice. *Mithridates* fled with those which the *Romans* had given over pursuing; but his ships were so vehemently beaten by the winds and the waves, that then he counted his life amongst his other losses; and if he survived after the Tempest, he received this favour of the Heavens as a good which he thought he could not reasonably hope for. This danger, which was capable to shake the greatest resolution, did not waver his at all; he carried the same face in his losses, as well as in his designs, and he never was abandon'd by constancy and ambition; as if his intention had been to outbrave the pride of the *Romans*, and the power of Fortune. He draws to his party the *Iberians*, the *Cassians*, the *Epirats*, and those of high and low *Armenia*: He raiseth his hopes with a powerful Army, and is persuaded that it is in his power to sacrifice to his vengeance, those who were like to sacrifice him to their glory. Before his Forces were united, *Pompey* to prevent him, made a Bridge of Boats, over which he passed *Euphrates*, pursued and attacked him, against the counsel of some who advis'd him to the contrary; and by a marvellous surprize, or an incredible fortune, defeated him quite in one Battel.

Battel. This was performed by night, and the Moon favoured the courage and design of *Pompey*, because it shin'd at that time behind his Enemies, and in the *Romans* faces; so that *Mithridates's* men deceived by their own shadow, which appeared very long, and taking it for their enemies, charged them to no purpose, whilst they deprived them of their blood and also of their lives. This last misfortune was but a bait to his virtue, he put himself in a posture to raise his hopes again which seemed dead; and to make appear that great men are sometimes worthy of admiration, at the same time that they are the objects of pity. And to give a proof of it, he raised as he fled all those that dwelt upon the Sands of *Sicily*, endeavouring to carry the alarm as far as *Colchus*, that he might carry on his design through *Thracia*, through *Macedonia*, and through *Greece*, and to fall into *Italy*, to surprize the *Romans*: But the rebellion of those of *Pontus*, and the ingratitude of his son *Pharnazius*, confounded all his projects; and him who thought himself invincible, was forced to yield to despair. In fine, *Mithridates* who had suffer'd with more constancy his ill destiny, than his sons ill nature, made an end by steel, of that which he had vainly attempted to do by poyson; and run his body through with his Sword, to testifie that as he dyed unfortunate,

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nate, so he dyed at liberty. This accident which was the shame of *Mithridates*, was the loss of the Usurpers; *Pompey* made use of the ruine of them for the foundation of *Rome*; and enrich'd it of their spoil. In effect, this great Commander, who brought *Spain* to the subjection of the *Romans*, again, vanquish'd twice *Mithridates*, and *Tigranes* thrice; brought under *Herod* King of *Albania*, and *Artaxer* King of the *Iberians*; he conquer'd with their Kingdoms *Syria* and *Phenicia*, overcame the *Iturians*, *Arabians*, the *Jews*, and six other Neighbourly Countries; defeated to the number of 22 Kings, took 1638 Cities, and employ'd all his life but in subduing or making others miserable, who were enemies to the Republick. Thus he came in the world in a glorious time for him, as *Leosthenes* had reason to say, That he resembled the power of *Alexander* after his death, as *Alexander* resembled *Polipheus* after the loss of his sight, when he felt about with his hand, not knowing which way he should take; and his dominions were no sooner distributed, but they were lost. In fine, there is nothing certain in the world; Thrones, the best supported fall as well as those that totter of themselves. The greatest Empires are as subject to Revolutions, as the least. And the life of Gyants is neither longer nor more certain than that of Dwarfs. Whatsoever policy

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and industry we take to preserve that which we have acquired, or which is acquired for us, we may very well say that Fortune, though she is not the Mistress of our will, is so nevertheless of our adventures. And *Cæsar* never appeared so full of vanity, as when he said that he carried Fortune along with him, since it is she absolutely who causes the changes that happen in our lives and conditions.

## CHAP. V.

Of the Empire of the Romans.

**S**ir *Francis Bacon*, who compares a State to a Man, saith that Learning is his Infancy, that he employs his young age in arms, and that in a more solid age both are maintain'd together, that in its old age it affects nothing but mechanick things. But since I am left at liberty not to be of every mans opinion, I will not constrain my self to believe him, and I will shew in few words, That Learning was not the infancy of this Empire; and that it ended rather by Idleness, than by Traffick and Trades, as great Rivers are often in their head, but small Rivolets which run from some Fountain. These Men, to whom all others were either subjects or slaves, were in their original but a company of shepherds, who notwithstanding

standing had not the simplicity, though they had the habit; and who made known since by their ambition and dexterity, that there was nothing so difficult, but the courage of man can overcome when it is led by prudence. *Romulus*, who was the first founder of *Rome*, found means to draw the *Phrygians* to his side, who before had engaged themselves in the good fortune of *Aeneas*, and the *Arcadians* who before had followed that of *Evander*: but because they wanted women, and that they could not continue long without them, they lookt upon their Neighbors daughters as their Mistresses; and being not able to acquire them by their addresses, they enjoyed them by force and policy. *Numa Pompilius*, who affected Religion and gentleness, better than violence and slaughter, was *Romulus's* Successor, and he that followed him, whose greatest care was to make his generosity and courage seen, rather than his zeal, shew'd the *Romans* by example and precept, that a man fought without danger that fought with policy; they were afterwards happy in the choice of their Wars and Sovereigns; they executed under them great projects and exploits; they had both together boldness and good success; and their arms brought them much benefit and glory. This people in their first age were under Kings, which lasted near 250 years, and did do much,  
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but promised much more; they undertook to crush down those who were of opinion, that they had enough to do to sustain themselves; but as their weakness did not permit them to go so far, they proportioned their ambition to their power, and measured their enterprizes to their Forces. Since the Consulate of *Brutus* and of *Colatin*, till that of *Apian Elandius*, and of *Quintus Fulvius*, which lasted the space of 200 years, and that one might count the adolescence of the Empire, they limited their Territories, and brought into their subjection those who they only thought to weaken, and converted all *Italy* into a Country of Conquest. Since this Age to that of *Augustus Caesar*, there was 250 years, and because the State was then in its vigor, one may term it its youth, since its felicities did leave it nothing to wish for, that all the earth was the prize and the subject of its victories, and there remained no more to conquer but the imaginary places of the world. Since *Augustus Caesar* to *Severus*, one may count 200 years, and this was the beginning of its old Age, since it began to weaken and languish; and the space of these two Ages did not turn so much to its advantage, as to its ruine: but besides, its last overthrow, which some may behold without astonishment, is it possible that any man can look upon its first wounds without compassion? That it should find

find allurements in its own disgraces, and that it should turn its rest into a Scaffold for its own execution? The glory which it acquired in the rich Provinces of the *Gauls*, in *Thracia*, in *Cilicia*, in *Capadocia*, in *Armenia*, and in *England*, was not so great as the shame it suffered to fight with Allies, Slaves, Gladiators, and against itself: in effect, what was not seen in the *Greeks* times? what did it not suffer in this general Conspiracy, in which the *Tuscan*s required of it the right of Citizens, which had been promis'd them by *Drusus*? what affront did it not receive in the War they had against slaves, and men of nothing? And what quantity of blood did it not lose by the ambition of *Marius*, and *Sylla*? it was a small matter that this last had slain at the chief gate of *Sacrysport* 6000 men during the War; that in peace he had put to death in the field of *Mars* 4000 Citizens, who yielded themselves to his mercy; and that amongst so many men whom he commanded, there was 2000 which he had taken out as the flower of the Nobility and Senate, if his cruelty had not been so ingenious, and if he had not invented new wayes to make men languish and lie in their pain. There's no inhumanity which was not at that time practis'd, nor no sacrilegious persons who were not recompens'd; as they had severally divided the inclinations of every one, so that friends fought against

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friends,

friends, brothers with their swords would dispute for courage and authority with their brothers, and a son had not been look'd upon by his Companions or his Commander; if he had not signalized himself by a Parricide; the end of this confusion, was not the end of its troubles, *Catalina* raised new ones soon after, and without the arms of *Anthony*, and industry of *Cicero*, who both hindred the execrable attempt which he had devised against his Countrey; it is most certain that his saying would have proved true, *That he would quench the flames of Rome in its ruines.* But what perturbations hath not this poor people suffered? And how many dangers was it not in, by the Leaguers of *Cesar* and *Pompey*? What Families have not been disperfed by those Factions? And what decrees were maintain'd in their discords? Did they not make a lawful quarrel of their suspicions, their violence past for Justice, and their will for a Law, though it was neither to defend their Walls nor their Altars; but only because *Cesar* was too rich, and *Pompey* too potent, that this could not suffer to have a Master, nor the other a Companion: it was notwithstanding by this division, that the *Romans* bought the Liberty of all other Nations; all the world became their Countrey; and their power who had no equal but their pride, was so great, that they have made those wear Chains, who had

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worn Crowns and Scepters. This happiness for all that was not durable; but as the Vices of Princes are often the disasters of their Subjects, so it hapned that the effeminacy and cruelty of *Augustus's* Successors, made them be counted Women or Monsters; and that they have got the hatred, or the scorn of all those where they made themselves known. From this indifferency and hate, began to arise revolts in the utmost Provinces; the *Parthians* and the *Persians* were the first who cast off the yoke in the East, in the West the *Gauls* imitated them, and in the North the *Goths* and the *Vandals* were not content with their liberty, they marched to *Rome* to make themselves Sovereigns; and evidenced enough, that those who slept upon Thrones, did not merit the command of them. The last division which hapned in this great Empire, was between *Charlemain* King of France, and *Hyrenna* Imperatrix of *Constantinople*: and though *Rome* had been taken divers times by *Athalarick* King of the *Goths*, and by *Genserick* King of the *Vandals*, and by the *Almains*, under the conduct of *Odoacer*, yet this City was never so near its ruine, as when *Totilla* beheld the ashes of it with the same pleasure which *Nero* beheld the flames of it through an Emerald. But what wonder is it to see a State tumble, in which Learning and Arms are held in derision, where Sloth and Vo-

lupuousness are in credit, and in which Vices receive the same commendation and reward as Virtue? Since *Augustus*, *Trajan* was the first who bestirred himself for the Republick; he reconquered the Province from the *Parthians* which they had ravish'd from the *Romans*; he took away both the Crown and the Kingdom from him who had usurp'd *Armenia* from them; he brought the men of *Russia*, of *Bosphorr* and *Colchas* to their duty again; he invaded the *Saxons* and the *Arabs* Countries, brought in subjection the *Marcomedes* and the *Corduenians*, and made himself Master of *Artemusia*, the best and most important Province of *Persia*, besides the Towns of *Selucia*, of *Ctesiphont*, and of *Babylon*, which he took; he marched his Forces upon the frontiers of the *Indies*; he fitted a Fleet out upon the red Sea; and, by the means of several Channels, he made that land which lieth between *Euphrates* and *Tybre*, as good a soil as *Egypt*: Those who succeeded him, had neither his ambition nor his courage, though they had the same dignity, they had not all the same glory; their government were as different as their humors; and most of them were remarkable but for their Cowardize, for their Tyranny, and for their ill Fortune. This time had no sooner separated their Forces, but it dissolved them; some of them lost whole Kingdoms, as others had gained them; and

every Prince took possession of those States of which they had been spoiled: but by reason that this misfortune was followed by that of *Rome* it self, we will speak of it anon in particular, and shew you that Fortune tyrannizes as well over Empires as Emperors, and over Cities as over men.

## C H A P. VI.

*Of the Kingdom or Empire of Mexica.*

**I**N the *East-India* there are well-founded and governed States, as the Kingdoms of *Syan*, *Bysnega*, *China*, and others, which are able to raise to the number of 200000 men apiece; but in the *West-India*, there is but two Empires or Kingdoms, namely, that of the *Jugals* in *Peru*, and *Mexica* in *New Spain*. Amongst some difference that's found between them, these be none of the smallest, that the *Jugals* are more ancient and wealthy than the *Mexicans*, and these more lofty and opulent; that Emperors were made by election in *Mexica*, as anciently among the *Romans*: and in *Peru* the Crown falls to the highest of the blood, as it is in *France* and *Spain*; these, for a mark of Royalty, wear a red Ball of extreme fine wooll, which hangs in the middle of their forehead; but the Diadem of the *Mexican* Kings

was proportion'd in the forepart like a Mitre with the hindmost Horn cut off, so that it was higher before, and drew up taper to a point. Martial offices were alwayes amongst them the most honourable; their chief Commanders were of great extraction, and those which were not, could not attain to Nobility but by Virtue; their Arms were two sharp Flints, which they made fast to a Stick on both sides, great and heavy Clubs, and Lances, in the manner of a Pike, and some kind of Darts which they darted with a marvellous activity, and fought for the most part with stones; they had some shields of a little compass to cover themselves, and head-pieces almost like ours, covered with feathers; they cloathed themselves in Lyons skins, Bears skins, and other wild Beasts. *Matecumca* brought the Chivalry to its highest perfection, when he instituted certain Military orders, which were much like ours, and assigned marks of honour to his Officers and glorious Standards. The most honorable was a Crown of their own hair, which some Knights wore fastened with a red Ribon to a Plume of Feathers, which shot other Feathers that reached down to the shoulders; and every Knight had as many of these last kind of Feathers that shot out of others, as he had done Actions of Valor and Remark; and who made himself worthy of the love of his Prince

Prince who was also of this order. There was a second mark, which was Lyons and Tygres represented, which the most resolute and valiant wore. And a third, call'd *Grys*, and every one of them had their Apartment at their Princes Palace.

To understand the foundation of this Empire or Kingdom, it is necessary to know that the first men which inhabited those Provinces, which are call'd *New Spain* at this time, were barbarous men, who never Till'd the ground, who passed their time but only in hunting of wild Beasts, Birds, Serpents, Lizards, and Worms themselves, which they used to feed on with Roots and Herbs. They made Bushes, Caves and Mountains their Lodging; their Wives went a hunting with them, and left their Children hanged in rush Baskets upon boughs of Trees, whil'st they were at this exercise; and had no God nor Religion, Laws nor Customs: As these men did not Till the ground, they left the fertilest part of this Countrey without people, which place was afterwards possess'd by some strangers, called *Navaltacains*, who came from the farthest part of the North, where there is two Provinces, one of them is call'd *the place of Heroes*, and the other, *the Land of the Divine Ancestors*. These are divided in seven parts, and the *Navaltacains* represent their original like a Cave, and affirm that

they issued out of seven Caves in the year 902, according to our Calculation, to come and inhabit *Medica*. These seven Nations did not issue out all at one time; the *Suchy-pilcofians*, whose name signifieth in our language, *Seed of Flowers*, inhabited the Coasts of the great Lake which lieth South, and founded a City and several other Towns of its name. Those of the second Cave, called *men of speech*, made some foundation also, and partak'd their limits along with the former. The third sort of people, call'd *men of Pont*, peopled the West-side of the Lake, and multiplied in such manner, that they built themselves a City which they call'd *Azcapuzalco*, that's to say, a *Swarm*. The fourth inhabited in *Texcoco*, and thus they altogether encompassed the Lake. The fifth call'd by the name *Thalucas*, pass'd on the other side of *Syerre*, where they found a hot Countrey, large and fertile. And the sixth people went over *Syerre* towards the East, where there is that famous Vulcan, between the City of *Medica*, and the City of Angels. These last found some difficulty at first to establish themselves; the old Inhabitants which History makes to be of a prodigious stature, could not suffer these Usurpers, and were not long before they declared War against them: but the others perceiving that policy would be more beneficial to them, than their strength, they

they invited to a great Banquet their enemies, stole their Arms from them, then fell upon them, and slew all those who had not time to make their escape, and so became Masters of their enemies and possessions. These six Nations kept one with the other a friendship which lasted long, and since this happy success they united themselves by marriages, and submitted themselves to a government which they made, and so cast the first foundations of their Republick Three hundred and two years after the issuing out of these, those of the seven Caves came to *New Spain*, after a wonderful toyl passed through *Mechoacan*, which is 150 miles distant from *Mexica*, and through *Malinalco* and *Chapultepec*; overthrew an enemy which opposed its progression, pulled out his heart, and threw it in the Lake, from which as they think proceeded a Plant they call *Tunal*, and in that place they laid the foundations of a City which they named *Mexi*, who had been heir Guide and Commander in their Travels.

They overthrew since the *Chalcassians*, and chose for their Queen the King of *Culchnacan's* daughter, whom afterwards they sacrificed by the command of their god, who had a mind to possess her; they beautified and fortified *Mexica* as their god *Vitli pultzi* had ordain'd them; and began to divide themselves in Provinces, and fill'd all the Countrey of the same  
and

and glory of their Arms. But as they had amongst them some Traytors to flatter, and some Neighbors to oppose, and that the King of *Culchuacan* might have a just resentment for the murder of his Predecessors daughter, they resolved to alter their government, and to choose a King of the blood of *Mexi*, to send Ambassadors to the King of *Culchuacan*, to demand a Queen for *Acamaspixly*, whom they had chosen King by a common Suffrage. He was near of Consanguinity with the King of *Culchuacan*, who chose for him a very considerable Lady; and the *Mexicans* after some publick Oration, received him with great applauses; adorned his head with a rich Crown, and begged of him to employ all his industry for their safety. In effect, he forgot nothing that could advance their greatness and his; he defended them as much as lay in his power against the King of *Arcauscalco*, and died after he had reigned 40 years, with as much policy as the greatest experience can produce. He left this commendation after himself, as well as *Alexander*, that he would appoint no Successor after him, but of him that should be thought most worthy, having no regard to his children; and shewed a great deal of regret not to have lived long enough to make his people more happy and free, notwithstanding they consecrated one of his children whose name was



*Vitzilovitsy*, either to testifie their acknowledgment, or to oblige him by this election to shew himself worthy of such a father: as he was a Batchelor, they sent Ambassadors to demand the King of *Azcapuzalcos*'s daughter; of whom they depended, and who exacted great Tributes from them, and other duties which were very grievous to them. They were happy enough to obtain her, and their interest was soon joined together, *Vitzilovitsy* had a son by Queen *Aymehigual*: and as they were very superstitious about names, and that they followed much in this the presage of Oracles, ordained that his name should be *Chirualpopoca*; that's to say, a Buckler casting smoke. By this birth they were freed of the greatest part of those tributes and duties which they formerly paid; but this good fortune did not last long, the Queen dyed soon after; and they lost the year following the King, who reign'd but 13 years; they mourned for their 2d King, who had made all his Neighbors, Allies or Friends, and begun to make *Mexica* famous for its buildings and riches, although *Chimalpopoca* had but ten years of age, he was chosen King; but their ambition was not satiated by the new obligations they had to the *Tapenecans*, they would also force them to work at the Channel they intended to make from the Mount of *Chapultepec* to *Mexica*, because they could not drink

drink the water of the Lake, they provoked them so by their demand, that they went one night in their Kings Palace, who slept without Guards, and slew him without any obstruction. *Iscalt Placaellec* was chosen King over the people, and the murder of *Chinalpopoca* was in such an horror to the *Mexicans*, that they prepared themselves either to revenge it, or to lose in so just a resolution all their Lives and Territories. They began to march in order towards the *Tapenecains*, attack'd and overcame them under the conduct of *Tlacaellec* their King, went into *Acapuxcalco*, plundered the Town, and spared neither old age nor children, and left behind them nothing but what was useless for them. Those that were fled into the Mountains, yielded themselves to the mercy of them that pursued them, gave them both their houses and possessions to save their lives; and did not only offer to be tributaries unto them, but slaves. These dominions were divided amongst several under the King, and this victory made the *Mixicans* feared by those who before looked upon them with contempt and pity. They went on further with their Arms, and laboured so successfully under the command of their King, that he defeated those of *Tacuba* and *Cuyoacan*; that they burned down the Temple in which they had secured themselves, and made a prodigious number of Captives, took  
a great

a great Spoil of Cloaths and Arms; precious Stones, and gold and silver Vessels. After they had subdued in this manner the *Tapenecans*, they marched against the *Suchimilcotians*, who were the first of those seven which were come out of Caves to inhabit this Land, overcame them, made the King of *Cuitlavaca* their Subject, and chose for theirs *Motecuma*, first of that name, after the death of *iscoalt Tlacaeltic*, who reigned twelve years, and signalized his Reign by all the actions that could make a Prince illustrious. *Motecuma*, *Tlacaeltic's* Nephew, was no sooner crowned, but he made War with all his Neighbors, who at last became his Subjects; and in his War against the *Chalcasians*, there hapned a remarkable thing, they had taken one of *Motecuma's* brothers, whom they would make their King, either to oppose him the more against the *Mexicans*, or else to hinder them from falling out with them. As this young Prince saw himself solicited with much instance to accept of the Crown from their hands, and that he could not put it off no longer neither by his reasons, nor his requests, he commanded them to erect a great Pole in the middle of the Market-place of *Colchos*, and place upon it a little Stage where one might get up upon. The *Chalcasians* soon followed his order, and being persuaded that it was a Ceremony used among the *Mexicans*. This young

young Princee, with a Crown of Flowers in his hand, got upon the Stage; and cast himself down headlong, and was taken up dead before all the people: But before he cast himself off, he spoke thus to the *Mexicans* that were there: *These men require me for their King, but the gods do not suffer that I should get a Crown by the least Treason; and you ought to learn by me, that our enemies must be always subdued by us: and that there is more glory to dye, than to assist them.* The *Chalcasians* startled at the resolution of this young Prince, and troubled at that spectacle, fell upon the *Mexicans*, and slew them; but their punishment soon followed their crime: *Motecumia* did not only send a potent Army against them, but went there himself; and as he had the aid of *Tlacaetec*, and that he was active and valiant, he overcame them, and wasted all their Countrey, carrying his Conquest as far as the North Seas, brought in subjection several Countries in the South, ordained Military Officers and Magistrates for Civil government; built that marvellous Temple which *Acosta* describes us in his History of the *Indians* in the 13th Chapter, and dyed after he had reigned Eight and twenty years, alwayes feared, and alwayes loved; alwayes fortunate, and alwayes prudent: *Flataetec* was chosen King by the general vote of the people; but though they persisted in the resolution

lution they had taken to crown him for their Prince, he did not look upon himself worthy of that honour, though the State had receiv'd its power from him; and that those who support so well the weights of Crowns, and exalt them higher, deserveth to wear them: but he shewed less ambition than the *Greeks* and the *Romans*, who would slay their own friends that they might reign the more secure; and who little regarded how many perished, so they might raise themselves. He preferred the good of the Kingdom before his own glory, and condemned by his denial the Maxim of that Tyrant, who maintain'd that it was lawful for a Man to rob Justice it self, and oppose Reason, to win a Crown. He gave his vote for the choice of *Ticoric*, son to the last King deceased; but as this young Prince was heir to his father, but not of his virtue, he reigned but 4 years, because the *Mexicans* hastened his end with poyson, and that they thought themselves not obliged to obey a Prince who had nothing of great but his dignity, of which he had made himself unworthy. His brother *Axayacu* succeeded him by Suffrage, and who recompenced worthily the services which *Placaellec* had done; for a little before he dyed, he made his son Lieutenant-General of all his Forces; as the Kings of *Mexica* were obliged before their Coronation, to do some act worthy of  
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so great an honour. *Axajaca* marched with his Army in the Kingdom of *Tequanteback*, six hundred miles distant from *Mexica*, charged those people who expected him with undaunted courage, razed their Temple and their City, came back proud of his victories and spoil, brought with him Prisoners of all age and sex, to sacrifice to his Idol, and made his Coronation and Triumph both one. He punished soon after some Rebels who had made a King over themselves in his Predecessors time, pursued him after he had overthrown him in single Combat; and precipitated him from the top of a Tower, burnt the Town, and its Cittadel, and compelled them to beg his mercy: And after this King had reigned eleven years, was very justly regretted by all his people. *Axtzel*, who was one of the Electors of *Mexica*, was made King; after which, he went immediately as far as *Quaxulatlan*, for to punish some Rebels which stopped the Tribute which they were wont to receive from Neighbouring Nations, and that rob'd those who used to carry it. He was very successful in this War, and in all those which he undertook after, and dyed in the 7th year of his Reign, after he had spread the limits of his Empire as far as *Gatilmalla*, which is 900 Miles from *Mexica*. His Successor was the great *Motecuma*, who was cloathed in Royal Robes, and whose Nostrils were bored through,

through, to hang on his Nose a rich Emerald, as the custom was. As soon as he was King, he reformed most part of the State; he assigned lodgings in his Palace for all the persons of quality, and would not be tended but by considerable men, which his Ancestors never observed; and commanded at that very time his Counsellors to take away from the common people those Offices which they had, and to bestow them upon the Nobility. He began his Wars by the Conquest of a Province very far distant on the Coasts of the North Ocean; and as he got a high reputation, and that the ceremonies of his Coronation were to be magnificent; there was not so much as the very enemies of the State, who did not come disguised, to be eye-witnesses of so glorious a spectacle. He began to be respected as much as his god; and those amongst the people that had the confidence to look him in the face, was put to death. He never set foot on the ground. He was carried upon the shoulders of the greatest Lords; and when he came down, he did tread upon rich Carpets made for that use. He never wore twice the same Cloaths. Never was any of his Plate brought before him again. All that was for his use was alwayes new; and as he was very liberal, he was minded that his servants should partake of his riches. He was severe, and yet not cruel. He would not have

pardon'd his brother, if he had transgressed against the Laws; and was so fortunate, that it is very hard to read the History which the *Spaniards* hath writ of him, and not think it a Fable. In the year 1517, which was the 14th of *Motecuma*, the *Spaniards* began to design the Conquest of this Empire, and whatever resistance he made against their landing, he was at last constrained to go and meet with the Marquis *de la Vallé*, and *Don Fernando Cortez*, 15 or 16 miles from *Mexica*, carried by four Lords with a rich head-piece of gold on covered with feathers. Whatsoever pretext the *Spaniards* had to authorize their cruelty, they took *Motecuma*, and put fetters to his feet, which was a detestable action, saith *Acosla*, though a *Spaniard* and *Jesuite* both, as well as the burning of their own ships, to resolve themselves either to death or misery. *Cortez* was no sooner departed about some business which seem'd to call him away, but his Lieutenant invited the Nobility of *Mexica* to Ball in the Palace, where they inhumanely killed most part of them; the rest wondering at the barbarousness of these strangers, which had treated them as friends, beset them round in the Palace, and prest them so hard, that their Artillery became useless to them. *Cortez* hearing of this, came by great dayes marches, entered the Palace to help his companions, while



the people of *Mexica* slept (for they were wont to rest every fourth day when they had War) and comforted the desolate. The others resolved to revenge the death of their Peers, pressed them with so much resolution, that they forc'd them to leave the Palace in the night, and to seek their safety in their flight. That very night the *Spaniards* stob'd *Moteczuma*, one of his children, and some of his Lords which they had taken Prisoners; but their flight could not be so secret, but the *Mexicans* kill'd 300 of them loaden with gold and precious stones. *Cortez*, not despairing of his good fortune, went and join'd with those of *Tlascalla*, which had alwayes been the *Mexicans* private Enemies, whose friendship the *Spaniards* sought, and demanded their assistance; fitted upon the Lake several Vessels, and besieged *Mexica* by Land and Water, and at last made himself Master of it in the year 1521. the 17th of *August*, after several bloody Combats, and above threescore cruel Battels. This is the end of an Empire which extended it self from the North Ocean to the South, and whose Tongue, to make use of the words of *Acofta*, run above 3000 Miles.

We shall treat in the ruine of *Jerusalem*, of the Signs and Wonders which foretold the desolation of this great City; and how States are ordinarily threatned by strange Prodigies,

of their alterations. I will end this Chapter, by the recital of some which are able to confound all the wisdom of men. The Idol of the Inhabitants of *Cholcolla* called *Catzacoalt*, Spoke, as the *Indians* report in their History, and foretold *Motecuma*, that strangers drew nigh to take possession of his Empire. The King of *Texcoco* assured him, that he was informed by his gods, that he should shortly lose all his Dominions: And as he offered Sacrifices, there proceeded a voice out of a great Stone which *Motecuma* had a mind to remove, that told him that they should not carry it very far; which thing hapned to be true, because it fell in the Lake, and whatever they could do, they could not find it again, nor fetch up with their Machines. A Pyramid of Fire was seen for the space of a year, and their Temple consum'd by Fire, though there was no body seen near it, nor Thunder or Lightning. A Comet with three heads appear'd at Noon-day, with an exceeding long Tail. And the great Lake which was between *Mexica* and *Texcoco*, began to swell of a sudden, and was tossed without any wind stirring, or any earthquake, and tumbled down all the houses that were near the banks of it. A sad and mournful voice, as the voice of a Woman a dying, was heard to utter these words full of desolation and despair: *The time of our Calamity is come,*

come, dear Children, where shall I hide you, to secure you from disasters? There was also seen several Monsters with two heads, which as soon as they were brought before the King, vanished away. And Fishermen brought before him a great Bird, with some transparent thing atop of its head like glass, through which *Moteczuma* saw the stars, though at that time aday there was not one to be seen in the sky; And some armed people who made Fields of Bat-tel overflow with blood. It is reported that an Husbandman was one day carried by an Eagle in a Cave, where it laid him down gently, with such like words, *Most mighty Sovereign, here is the man thou commandest me to bring away from his Tillage:* And the man looking about, saw a man asleep, with a Stick scented and perfumed very strong, and Flowers in his hand, and the Badges Royal, whom he perceived was the King of *Mexica*. Then said the voice to him, *Wake him immediately; and to shew thee how insensible he is of his misfortunes, take that burning Stick which he holds in his hand, and touch his face with it, and he shall not feel it.* The Husbandman obey'd after some refusal, and that some fears were over, and so was carried back again by the Eagle, to go and give notice of this strange Prodigy to *Moteczuma*. The *Mexicans* report that the King was in effect burnt in the Face, but he did not per-

ceive it, till the Husbandman had given him this Relation; which perplexed him so much, that he lost from that time all comfort and hopes. It is probable this was a Vision, as the Scripture informs us, that Sinners and Infidels have had such like Revelations, as the example of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Balaam*, and *Saul's* Witch persuades us of it. The *Spaniard* adds a great many Miracles to these, as they are wont to do; but whatever may be said of it, it is most certain that their Cruelty is greater than all those Prodigies: and that they have sacrificed more men to their Avarice, than those men to their Idols.

## CHAP. VII.

### *The Ruine of Carthage.*

**I**do had no sooner seen the cruel Massacre of *Sychée* her husband, by *Pygmalion*, but she fled from *Tyre*, to avoid the sight of that murder. This illustrious unfortunate Woman, could not suffer no longer the presence of her husband's Executioner, and thought that beauty was not safe with tyranny. She came to *Libia* with some *Tyrians*, who because they would not be deny'd by those of the Country, demanded of them no more Land than a Hide would compass; and because the Inhabitants

of the Countrey could not deny them such a small thing, she cut that Hide into so many Thongs, that it compast the place in which they built *Carthage*. Some men would have it, that it was founded 50 years before the destruction of *Troy* by the *Phœnicians* and others, as *Ignu Rachif*, an *African* Historian, mentioned that it was built by a certain people that came from *Barsba*, who had been expell'd their Countrey by an *Egyptian* King. The first opinion of these is the most received, and seems better grounded, because it was first named *Birsba*; and if I may declare my opinion, all others were fitter for our Curiosity, than our Faith: but howsoever it was, it became so famous, and so redoubtful, that she gave to all other Cities both admiration and fear; her power equall'd that of the *Greeks*; and her Riches were no less than those of the *Persians*. But it is needful to consider the beginning and progress, its End as well as its Birth, and look upon it in its Grave, as well as in its Cradle. The *Romans* were no sooner Masters of *Italy*, but the *Messinians* their Allies complained to them of the insolence of the *Carthaginians*: and as the *Romans* and *Africans* had both a design upon *Sicilia*, the *Romans* were very glad of an occasion to come thither, and to be Arbitrators of a Nation they had a mind to be Masters of. Upon this complaint, the *Romans*

that had never seen but Land-service, did neither consider the Combats, nor the Dangers of the Sea: hopes of Booty makes Tempests indifferent to them; and, as *Florus* saith, they consulted not whether it was upon Horses, or upon Ships they were to fight. They attacke *Hieron* first King of *Syracusa*, and overcame him. They set forth to Sea for the second time, and reduced at last all *Sicilia* to a Province. As ambitious mens desires are only to raise themselves, and that they are never more unsatiable, than when they should seem most moderate; these men prosecuting their Wars with more ardor than they had begun them, marched directly towards *Sardagnus*, and from thence over to the Isle of *Corse*, and fill'd the hearts of the *Insulaires* with fear and horror, by wasting the two Cities of *Olbia* and *Valeria*. This good fate gave them such great hopes, that they thought fit no longer to retard the *African* War, where they were not only opposed by men in their Enterprizes, but found themselves also engaged in a Combat with horrible Serpents; but neither Men nor Serpents could hinder them to carry their Arms to the gates of *Carthage*: they were not fortunate before it, because the *Carthaginians* call'd to their aid the *Lacedemonians*, who sent them a brave Commander who defeated them; and who by the execution of the *Roman* General, repaired

repaired all the losses of those whose party he had taken. Thus the *Carthaginians*, proud of the confusion of their Enemies, made War upon *Sicilia*, but they were repuls'd in several Encounters. And as the earth had before raised Monsters against the *Romans*, the Heavens now raised great winds and storms against the *Carthaginians*, who coming with a great Army, which the Tempest deprived of Combat and Victory. They employ'd all their strength and courage to reunite themselves. This defeat did not trouble them at first, but it occasioned at last their despair; they lost all their men, and all their ships: and because they had with them at that time all their best Soldiers, and had sunk their Treasures in this occasion, their loss was so great and so remarkable, that one would have thought that *Carthage* was taken already. Notwithstanding four years after, *Hannibal*, who had sworn at the Altar before his Father, that he would be revenged of the *Romans*, who exacted from them the same Tribute which themselves exacted from others, besieged *Sagunta*, which remained free by an agreement made by the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans*; imagining himself more excusable in breaking of that Treaty, than his Oath; and that there was more glory to make *Carthage* triumph, than to suffer it to be brought to subjection. The *Saguntains* maintained the Siege  
nine

nine months together, and rather suffer'd hunger than servitude: and seeing themselves without hope of relief, every man set fire to his own house, and left nothing to the *Carthaginians* but ashes for the prize of their victory. *Hannibal*, after some other exploits in *Spain*, made himself a passage through the *Alpes*: he found out wayes that the excessive heights of the Snow had stolen from all men, and so went over these mountains into *Italy*. Betwixt *Pd* and *Tessin*, he defeated the *Romans*; he gained a second Victory near the River *Trelue*, startled all the *Romans* by a third near the Lake of *Perronse*, and quite overthrew them in another Battel much more bloody than the former. Forty thousand were kill'd upon the place, one of their Generals escaped, and the other was slain: the River of *Ofante* remained dy'd with their blood for some time, and *Hannibal* made a Bridge over the Torrent of *Vergelle*, of the dead Bodies that were kill'd in this Battel. He sent to *Carthage* two Bushels full of Rings, to shew how many Knights were kill'd in it; and might have gone within five dayes to the Capitol, if he had not chosen to enjoy rather than to make his advantage of his victory, that's the reason that he left *Rome* to go to *Tarente* and *Capoua*; and it was there that the Campagne, and the heat of the weather made that great man lose his courage, which the *Alpes* were



were not able to do with their deep Snows: that he quenched his ardor in Baths; and he who could not yield to Peril, was conquer'd by Voluptuousness: Nevertheless the *Romans* who had no other Arms than those that were hanged up in their Temples, began to take them down; they made their Slaves Soldiers, after they had made them free; marched directly against *Hannibal*, fought him, and made him raise the Siege of *Nole*. As if their Oracles and Destinies had promised them the Empire of all the World; they send both the *Scipio's* into *Spain* to take it away from the *Carthaginians*, and did not despair of their enterprise, though the *Africans* had kill'd one of them whilst he encamped his Army, and burnt the other in a Tower, where he thought himself safe. The *Romans* no sooner heard of it, but they gave a Commission to young *Scipio*, as being most fit to revenge the death of his Father and Uncle; and in effect was so fortunate in it, that in four years time he reconquered all *Spain*, from Mount *Pyrene* to the hill of *Hercules*, and to the Ocean. *Hannibal* wondering that the *Romans* divided their Forces in so many parts, instead of uniting them, and being not able to comprehend that they could conquer in so many places, thought it easie to beat them out of their own Countrey; but in the mean while he saw himself beaten out

out of many Towns, that *Tarente* was brought to its former subjection, and *Capowa* besieged, which he had made his residence, and, as a man may say, his second Country. He made directly to *Rome*, but besides that a prodigious Rain made him turn back, he heard that *Syphax* and his brother *Asdrubal's* Army who came to his aid were defeated; that *Scipio* had conquer'd all *Spain*, and was at the gates of *Carthage*, and that it was his absence that the *Carthaginians* feared most. He quitted *Italy* with a great loss, passed into *Africk*, where he met *Scipio*, whom he attack'd with the resolution of a desperate Ambition; but his courage was less than the success of that young Conqueror: he kept alwayes the same ardor, but not the same fortune; and this great Commander was to be pitied, though not to be blamed. His loss was so considerable, that since nothing could serve but that of this proud *Carthage*, and most of the *Romans* were of opinion, that its ruine would serve to the establishment of their Empire. They knowing that they had had Wars with the *Numides*, and had incursions upon the King of *Massinissa* their Allie, they took that pretext for their reason, and rendred that War so much the more cruel, as it appeared just. The *Carthaginians* seeing themselves reduced to the last extremity, in hope of peace, yielded up their ships unto them, who burnt them before their

their faces; and desired them either to prepare themselves to dye, or to go out to save their lives. This message stirred the *Carthaginians* in such a manner, that they thought all torments ought to be less sensible to them than this outrage; the *Romans* demands astonisht 'em more than their coming, and they thought their Ambition less tolerable than their Cruelty. Though they had no hopes left, they chose rather the desolation of their Countrey by their Enemies hands, than by their own: And as the biting of wild Beasts is more dangerous than that of others, there was more ado about *Carthage* half ruined, than when it was intire, saith *Florus*. They pull'd down their Houses, to build a new Fleet; they melted their Gold and Silver, to use it instead of Iron and Copper: and to make the Cordage of the ships, the Ladies cut off their hair, and thought it less shame to shear their heads, than to have their walls sheared. But if their resolution was so great, their wants were much greater; the design they had formed to dye in defending themselves, was generously conceived, but it could not be well executed; all fail'd them when Provisions did: and if they defended themselves still, it was only to let their Enemies understand, that they were no longer able to do it. In this last despair, Forty thousand men yielded themselves to the  
mercy

mercy of the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* was low-spirited enough to imitate them, and was not ashamed to discover that he regarded his reputation less than his life; and that he had rather be chained at *Rome*, than buried at *Carthage*. His Lady shewed herself more a man in it than he; she took her two Children in her arms, and precipitated herself with them, that she might not survive the infamy of her Husband, and desolation of her Countrey. In fine, it was by fire that *Carthage* was destroy'd; the flames spar'd neither Temples nor Houses: and the fire was so great, that it could not be quenched in seventeen dayes; and its destruction was such, that *Scipio* could not behold the ashes of it, but he bedewed them with his tears. Thus this City was ruined by it self, and its Inhabitants kindled the flames that devoured them, with their own hands: thus it seems to instruct us, that there's no day but what is followed by darkness, nor no Summer without Winter; and that a State resembleth the Sun, which never runs fastest to its fall, than when it is in its Meridian.

## C H A P. VIII.

## Of the Ruine of Corinth.

**C**orinth, who had an horror for the miseries of *Macedonia* and *Greece*, could not imagine that their misfortune could ever be common to her, and that she could lose the liberty in which her power and her artifice had always maintained her. This was it that persuaded her that all she could do was permitted, and all that was permitted was reasonable. In this persuasion she attack'd the *Lacedemonians*, either to extend her bounds, or to shew that she could prejudice the others, when their ambition should dissent from their duty. These men that saw that the *Romans* were the refuge of all Nations, sent complaints to them, and judg'd it convenient to make them their Protectors, after they had made them their Arbitrators. The *Romans* who looked no otherwise upon the liberties of men, but as upon a good which belonged to them legitimately, were glad to find a pretext that might occasion them to carry their Arms in *Achaya*, and to find an opportunity to bring them to subjection, instead of checking them. They sent some Ambassadors to judge their differences, but they were no sooner arrived at *Corinth*, but they were received

ved with insolent words; and it is thought that *Critolans* charged them with blows, after he had charged them with a reproachful language. The *Romans*, who held their Ambassadors to be sacred persons, having heard of the disgraceful proceeding of the *Achayans*, counted this affront a Sacrilege, and thought themselves obliged to use all their industry and forces to punish this Crime. They reflected upon *Critolans*, as a man who had been their slave, and who they had restored to liberty, an obligation he could not return at a less rate than with his life, which he had repaid with ingratitude, and they found their Enemy even with him who had been their Captive. For this cause they thought it more convenient to send them an Army, than an Ambassador; and that it was better to fight them, than to consult with them; that they ought to shew themselves Lyons, where before they would have shewed themselves Foxes; and that force would stand them in more stead than craft. They were so fully persuaded of this opinion, that their deliberation was almost as soon executed as it was conceived, they marched directly in *Achaya*, and there they resolved to shew that they would have no mercy for such as had no respect for them; and that they could revenge an extreme ingratitude, by an extreme cruelty. The *Achayans*, instead of  
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fear for their presence and menaces, shewed an extraordinary satisfaction, to have so soon drawn in their Countrey a Nation who had all others for their Enemies; they considered the *Romans* Arms but as a rich booty, and their Soldiers but as men who brought them glory. In effect, they promised themselves so good success of their Militia, that they made their Mothers, their Wives and their Children go out of their habitations; and that they might enjoy an agreeable spectacle, placed them upon high Mountains, from which they could see them dispute for their Liberty, for their Honour, and for their Countrey, and caused them to be present at the Battel, as if it had been a Play. The *Romans* seeing themselves looked upon with scorn, of those they thought to be looked upon with fear, were so exasperated by this affront, that they swore altogether to ruine them, and charged them afterwards with such a courage, that death was the reward of their folly and temerity: The *Achayans* boasted of Victory before a Combat: they were rich but in hope. All their felicity was but a dream, which did not continue long, and it was only in their Idea that they published their triumph. Amazement succeeded at that instant to the curiosity of their Ladies; and that astonishment was quickly followed by melancholy and despair, and every one saw her self without  
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Husband, Father, or Sons, in that deplorable day. After that defeat, they ran to conceal themselves in the next Caves they could find: but their sighs and lamentations, and the diligence of the *Romans* discover'd them quickly, and their flight did them but little good; for those who had been spared by grief, saw themselves in the same Bonds which they had prepared for their Enemies. The *Romans* were not satisfied with this victory they had obtained over the *Achayans*, they would have their chief City to carry eternal marks of it, that for the future other Nations, to avoid their ruine, might avoid temerity. This was partly the cause that they besieged *Corinth*; but they admired the boldness of the Inhabitants by their resistance, the death of their companions, in lieu of relenting their resolution, rather exasperated it; and of all the choice they could make, they took no other than that of death, or revenge. Notwithstanding both parties followed the Siege close, some to press it, and the others to sustain it: the Attacks and the Sallies were equal on both sides, and it was hard to judge which of them was most terrible, the *Corinthians* in their Town, or the *Romans* in their Trenches. But alas! how ingeniously could Fortune betray them, as well as their conceits; how many unprofitable vows did these make, and the others how many glorious steps!



steps ! and what different Subjects had they of joy and grief ! the *Corinthians* suffered the last extremities ; their courage was not greater than their patience, and never was a people more capable to do hurt nor to receive it. But at last they were forced to yield ; the *Romans* were neither tyred by the vigilance nor the constancy of the Besieged, and considered nothing but the enlargement of their State and their own Glory, and used like Criminals such as would not be brought to Repentance. This City was as soon plundered as it was taken, it was put to the Sword by sound of Trumpet, to animate more resolutely the Soldiers to its last Ruine ; its two Harbors were dyed with the blood of its Citizens, and the slaughter was not more dreadful for its novelty, than for its continuance. And as if the Massacre of all its Inhabitants had not been enough, they made but one Bonfire of the whole Town, and overthrew by the same their Walls, their Houses, their Temples, their Gods, and their Priests. In this combustion, all their golden, silver and copper Statues, melted confusedly together, ran every way ; and the flame at that time made but a mixture of their different Metals. It is easie to judge if the quantity was great or no, since the Copper of *Corinth*, which hath since been used in most places of the World, is but a fair remnant of that prodigi-

ous Flood. There can be no greater instance given to prove that the strongest Towns are never the safer, and we may conclude after all this that there is no beginning without a period ; that these two Contraries are the two Faces of Nature, and that mans Industry is not so powerful as his Destiny. It is in vain he endeavors to keep in his possession a good which Fortune designs to deprive him of: and the *Corinthians* were Philosophers but in a small degree, to think that there was Ramparts against the blows of Fortune, and that Change was not an essential part of all things.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of the Ruine of Numance.*

**N**umance, who bore the name of its Founder *Numa Pompilius*, was never so rich as *Carthage*, *Capoua*, nor *Corinth*: But if it had no advantage over these three Cities, yet it will give no place to them ; and if I may compare them together, its resolution will be found no less glorious than the others opulence. It was situated in a fine plat of ground not far from the River *Ducra*, and was a long time called *the dread of all its Enemies, and ornament of all Spain*. With Four thousand *Celtiberians*, it sustained Fourteen years together,

ther, the strength of Forty thousand men : and as if it had been too small a thing for its fame, not to receive Laws from others, she gave some to all those that would have imposed upon her, and made it self absolute, when it had no other end but to make it self free. Nine Consuls besieged it one after another, but they lost their lives every one: their resolution could never be fortunate to them; and a man may say that the *Romans* never brought themselves in less esteem, than when they would have brought it in] subjection. It is strange that the *Romans* Ambition was alwayes immoderate, but never to be blamed: yet it never appeared in any occasion so great, nor so unjust, as it did in this. But Usurpers are never retained, neither by fear, nor reason. To make new Conquests, they form new Designs; Avarice is never satiated, and the Sea is not greater, to receive in it the Water of all the Rivers in the World. The *Romans* knowing that the *Numancens* had received their Friends and Relations which had escaped out of the Prison of *Rome*, took that charity for an injury: and preparing themselves to punish a fidelity which they should have esteem'd, they made a long War upon them, which was as horrible as durable, and in which Violence triumphed at last over Justice. The *Numancens*, who desired nothing with more instance than the safety

of their Friends, implored the *Romans* favor, and made them understand that they wished for nothing else but Peace, and that they were to blame, to resolve to write it with the finest, purest, and most innocent blood of all *Spain*. But the *Romans*, who hearkned to no other counsel but such as favour'd their natural Ambition, laugh'd at the *Numancens*, and commanded them to yield their Arms, if they had a mind to seek their Alliance. This command, which was imperious, was so insupportable to those of *Numance*, that they chose immediately a Head, and prevailed so much, that they made *Pompey* agree to all their demands, and even to promise them that he would never be their Enemy, seeing he could not be their Protector. The *Romans* exasperated at that oath, and his defeat, sent some other Consuls: amongst the most remarkable, *Mancinus* was sent thither, to make an exemplary punishment of them, but he was often overcome, and forced to swear to the Treaty that others had sworn to before him, and to look about for safety, rather than to stand to acquire glory. Then it was that *Rome* grew jealous of *Numance*, that it looked upon it as the cause of its shame and despair, and thought of nothing else but the overthrow of that proud Rival. To redress that it disapproved its Consuls proceedings in making of Treaties, it commanded that

that *Mancinus* should be whip'd in the presence of the whole Army, and that he should be so used, for signing a Treaty between the Subject (for so they counted all the World) and its Sovereign; and because they did not distinguish between the that was born to command, and she that was born to obey. And as she had need of a great Capitain, she cast her eyes and hopes upon *Scipio*, who glorious of the consuming of *Carthage*, and of the Battels he had obtained over *Viriatus*, who caused a Rebellion through all *Spain*, desired no more but to immortalize himself by this last Conquest. The *Numantines*, in lieu of despair for these news, and hazarding to stay prevented him, sought him, met with him, and fought him. For two dayes together the earnestness of both sides was equal; both parties had the same advantage, and the same hopes, and victory did encline to neither for that time, neither for ambition, nor for innocence. In the third Battel, the *Numantines* did much, but to no purpose; for they were vanquish'd by their Enemies, who pursu'd them to the very gates of their City, and pressed them so hard, that since he gave them no more time, then to consider that Right is not alwayes attended with good Fortune. In this extremity, they resolved to fight again, rather to perish then for the hopes of victory, and filled themselves with meat, as if it

had been their last Banquet. *Scipio* had no sooner notice of it, but he invested them, and blocked them up with a Trench encompassed with a Wall and Bulwarks, to prevent their dying at liberty; and to teach them that *Rome* could shew no favour, to those that shew'd no homage. They desired *Scipio* at least to give them Battel, and to consider that they had no more provisions, nor hopes left; and that it would be more glory for him to give them their deaths by his Sword, than by Famine. Their demand was needless, and *Scipio* was neither moved by their generosity, nor by their misery. They made some few Sallies, but they were unfortunate to them; their Forces did not equalize their courage; and Famine grew so great amongst them, that they were forced to eat the flesh of their companions which they found dead, and were forced to make their aliment of that which they could not behold without horror and despair. In the resentment of this unfortunate Fortune, they endeavored to flie; but this Enterprize was no sooner discover'd by their Wives, but it was prevented; they cut the Girths of their Saddles, and by an excess of Love, shewed an excess of Cruelty. In fine, having no way left to escape, they left also the intention of it; they chose rather to be their own Executioners, than their Enemy should have the honour of their deaths, and

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'twas for this effect that they made use of Poyson, of Fire and Sword against themselves: 'Tis not at this time said their General to them, that we ought to fear, holding a Taper in his hand, and his Sword in the other, our Countrey requires Sacrifices from us, and 'tis for it that we must be both the Priests, and the Offerings. Come, dear Friends, let us go our selves to our Funerals, let us not lose our liberty but with our lives, 'tis against our selves that we must exercise our courage, since it is impossible for us to do it against *Scipio*; this is the day that *Numance* will leave behind an immortal name in its ruines. Let's burn our Towers, and our Temples; let's bury our selves with our Gods; let's triumph here, without seeking Victory in the Trenches of our Enemies; and let us shew them that the *Numancens* have sav'd themselves in the loss of their Town, and that our Constancy cannot yield to their Cruelty. Every man by his example set fire to his house, and they all took a pride in their common disaster. But what inhumanity appear'd in this strange execution! and what fury! to make ones own felicity in an horrible death! whil'st the City was on fire, they kill'd some themselves, and some one another, that they might not fall into the hands of their Enemies, there the most cruel, was the most obliging, and love consisted but in slaughter. The son kill'd his  
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own father, whom age had weakned too much to be his own murderer; the mother stifled her children in the very Cradle, or else committed two murders at once, in taking away their own lives, and that of them who had not yet perfectly receiv'd it in her Womb; the Husband killed his Wife embracing one another, the Brothers Sword was warm of his Sisters blood, and a Lover would have thought himself the greatest Enemy his love had, if he had not been her Executioner. This new spectacle was made more terrible by a second; the Fire which consumed those which were but half dead, ran to the others who were ready to kill themselves; so that this dreadful flame mixt their ashes, with those of the houses, and made but a fiery burying place of all the Town. *Scipio* wondred more at their last resolution, than herejoyced at his triumph; *Numance* gave him a great toyl, but little reward: and this great Commander had but praises for acknowledgment of his good success, and nothing but a confused heap of stones for his recompence.



## CHAP. X.

## Of the Ruine of Jerusalem.

**J**erusalem, as some *Historians* write, was founded by *Melchisedech*, who called it first *Salem*, and as some others, by *Adonizedech*, King of the *Jebusians*, who *Orose* calleth *Bisens*, son of *Canaan*. When this ancient City of *Caldea* retained still its first name, it was taken by the Tribe of *Judah*, who used the King of it without any regard to his Dignity or person, and who made the Inhabitants of the City to perish by Fire and the Sword. This ill Fortune did not appear to it very strange, because it had been reduced almost to the same extremity before; and seeing its disgrace, it saw nothing that was new, and began to make an habit of its losses. *David*, after the Conquest that he made of it upon the *Jebusians*, did not content himself to enlarge it, but he would adorn it as well as encrease it, and strengthen it by its lofty Buildings, as well as by its Walls. In this posture it brought a great many other Towns in subjection, and some Kingdoms themselves in *Solomons* and *Roboams* time: but in fine, this last his ill Counsellors took away from it the dominion of the Ten Tribes of *Israel*, and was the cause of so many unhappineses that there

there are none but what they felt then, or at least had cause to fear. As little Rivers are not always free from great floods, and their banks from inundations, so sometimes 'tis from some little alterations, that great and unhappy accidents take their original; its first disorders were the cause of its utter destruction, which made it feel all the torments and misfortunes of Servitude. Sometimes the Kings of *Samaria* and *Israel*, who one should have thought made but one Body, because they were but one Nation, spoil'd these Misers of their Treasures. Sometimes the Kings of the *Assyrians* made them either Slaves or Tributaries to them; and now and then those of *Egypt* were wasteful, not adorned but with the riches of their Temple. Although these Wounds were very great and dangerous, yet the Scars were not long visible; these Men rais'd themselves upon their ruines, and made their despair a shield for themselves. But what violences did not they suffer under *Nebuchadnezar*? What Cruelties were they not both the instrument and the object of? Or did ever the Poets include any miseries in *Pandora's* Box, which they have not experimentally known? This *Babylonian* King had no sooner besieged *Jerusalem*, but the Inhabitants take Arms against so powerful an Enemy; they put themselves in a posture of defence against his fury, and to let him know that  
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their courage would continue longer than their lives: but in that design which was both glorious and fatal; whilst *Nebuchadnezar* pressed them hard without their Walls, the Plague assaulted them in their houses, and Hunger in their bowels. This last misery was so great, that any thing was meat for them, though nothing was able to satiate them; they were driven to murder one another, that they might not want food; and to stay for their companions death, that they might live! In this horror amongst Women in despair, some smothered their children to put an end to their sufferings, and some others cut their Throats to feed upon them. What more cruel Love! And what more horrible Famine! This consideration did not hinder *Nebuchadnezar* from continuing the Siege, and so happily for him, that both Fire and Sword did serve to the destruction of the Besieged. At that time all the *Assyrians* and *Egyptians* desires were accomplish'd, their Arms had but little rest, and their Spirits could not be satisfied, but when they saw no Subject for their rage. Nothing was heard but shriekings and howlings, mixt with the noise of acclamations and rejoycings; there one might see Husband and Wife killed in their own houses, with the same hand, and often with the same blow; young Women troden under the Horses feet, or ravish'd at the feet of the Altar; Pala-

Palaces razed, and all the Houses pull'd down or consumed; and Rivers of Blood and Tears running through the streets. Their glorious Temple, which was the admiration of all the World, and the adornment of *Asia*, was spared no more than other Edifices; its Pinnacle and Foundations were laid together, its Vessels were plundered or melted, its Mysteries abolished, its Holiness prophaned; and to be brief, the violence of the flames made of all the Town but a confused lump of that which was incombustible. The cruelty of the Officers and Soldiers was not yet satisfied by such a strange Combustion; they pull'd out King *Ezekias's* eyes, who was the last of *David's* Race, after they had barbarously cut his best Friends Throats before him by the command of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and was led away Captive to *Babylon* with his people, who in Three-score and ten years, were hardly freed from servitude. This desolation may better be conceived than represented; and to give a perfect knowledge of it, there is required something else, their Pencil or Pen, for the drawing of the one and the traces of the other, are too weak to give a description or representation of it. Nevertheless it was repair'd by *Esdra*s and *Zorobabel*, to whom *Cyrus* granted leave; and as a Phoenix, this Town began to revive out of its own ashes. Its Temple was raised to its first splen-

splendor, its Houses re-edifi'd with the same diligence, and with the same expences that they had formerly been built. This people by their present gladness, lost the memory of their past disgraces; and if a Man may say it, their resurrection did not come short of their birth. This splendor was great, but it was not lasting; its beauty was envied by *Alexander's* Successors, but especially *Antiochus Epiphanes* did carry his Arms so far in it, that the whole City became an Altar, where Soldiers were the Priests, and the Citizens the Victims. *Judas Maccabeas*, the *Asmoneans*, and great *Herod*, repaired it not without curiosity; they surpassed *Zorobabel* and *Esdra*, and added so many things to its perfection, that it was said by her, as an Ancient said of *Galatia*, *That she was the fairest in her time*. As she became sensible of her greatness, she trusted to her riches, she did not consider that the cause of her mirth might turn to her despair; and that peace that she lived in, was threatned with a just or a cruel War. And that her rest had been more solid and durable, if by her first calamities she had drawn conclusions of what might follow. *Egypt*, *Greece* and *Italy* had formerly been fatal to her; her disobedience had caused her unhappiness; she had receiv'd both punishment and favors from them all, and was for the most part at liberty, so long as she was not proud, But at last her  
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Rebellion ended her loss, she could not suffer that *Rome* should exact a Tribute which she thought not due to her; she consider'd neither her favors, nor her power; and forgetting that she was engaged to her, she shew'd her impiety, in shewing her ingratitude. This is the cause partly that *Vespasian* and *Titus*, who had defeated the *Jews* in several Battels, marched their Troops thither, and their Legions; after they had conquer'd all *Judea*, they carried their Arms where their Clemency was in derision, and shew'd that they were capable to harm those who were unwilling to receive Courtesies from them. At the same time the Civil divisions made *Jerusalem* a place of murther and plundering: three Men amongst them equally powerful, and equally pernicious, made three several parties; and in the ambition which was natural to them, were of opinion, that it were always more glorious to command to their Citizens, than to their Avarices, and who regarded but little to be counted Slaves of their own passions, so they might become Masters of this Empire. One of them nam'd *John*, was posted about the Walls of *Jerusalem*; *Simon* had fortifi'd himself in the middle of the Town; and the third Man, whose name was *Eleazar*, had empail'd himself in the Temple, as looking upon it to be the best place. *John*, who saw that these two had the most advanta-  
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gious places, and whose ambition was to ruine them both, sent some of his Men to the Temple, to offer Sacrifices : but they were no sooner admitted in at the gates, but they made use of Arms that they had concealed under their garments, and made a Slaughter-house of their Sanctuary. When this device had reduc'd three parties to two, the cruelty of those that were left, grew with their Forces; they filled the streets with blood, as well as the Temple; and as it is much sweeter to dye, than to be always in affliction, there was none but made wishes for the *Romans*, and desir'd to dye, or at least had rather suffer Servitude, than Tyranny. In the mean time *Titus* pressed them hard, and Famine much harder; it was so great, that a Mother, like those of *Nebuchadnezzar's* time, pulled from her breast her child, and boiled it, having no other way to satisfie her extreme hunger. *Titus* had such an horror of the fact, that he could not withhold his Tears; and because his design was not to destroy all these miserable people, he sent them word, That if they would yield, he was ready to pardon them. But his clemency was laugh'd at, the Governors thought nothing so insupportable as the name of *Rome*; and the goodness of this Prince was not counted so agreeable by these unhappy Men, as the loss of their Countrey. *Titus* wondred so extremely at this re-

fulful; that he took an oath and resolution, as the History mentions, that he would expiate the Crime of such an unnatural repast, by the desolation of the whole *Palestina*; and that he would not suffer that the Sun should shine upon such a City on earth, where the Mothers fed upon their children. In effect, after he had made himself Master of *Antonians* Fort, and of the two first Walls of *Jerusalem*, he commanded all his Forces against the third, which was defended by the Temple; and though his design was not to destroy such a famous Structure, his piety could not prevail over his Soldiers fury, and the loss of the *Jews* in this respect, was more considerable to them, than the command of their General. It was at that time that a cruel Massacre began, without distinction of dignity, age or sex; and the *Romans* rage was appeased but by a conflagration, which was such, that the words of *Christ* were fulfilled, when he said to his Disciples, looking upon that wonderful Edifice, *That there should not remain one stone on the top of another, and that its height should be laid as low as its foundations.* It is easy to judge, that never Siege was more cruel, nor more obstinate than this; since we see that of three millions of people who had assembled there from all *Judah*, about the ceremony of the *Pasche*, there were Seven hundred thousand killed.



and Ninety seven thousand taken Prisoners, the half of which were sold, and the rest led Captives to several places, to make sport for Princes; who found no greater divertisement, than to see them torn in pieces by wild Beasts. Many Presages had threatned them of their ruine, and given them evidences enough of it, if their pride had not kept them from fearing and preventing it. A poor Man for the space of seven years and five months, did usually cry about in a tragick and lamentable tone, *Voice of threatening from the East, Voice of threatening from the West, Voice of threatening from the four corners, Voice of threatening against Jerusalem, and the Temple, Voice of threatening against new married Couples; Woe to all this people, Woe to Jerusalem, Woe to the City, Woe to the Temple, Woe to the people, and Woe upon my self.* The gate of the Temple which was of brass, opened of it self, though it was shut fast: when the Priests according to their custom, did service in the night, a voice was heard with a great noise, in these words, *Let's go hence:* and before Sunset, there was seen in the Air fighting Chariots, and fighting Men, in such a number, that the whole Town was cover'd with them. Some space before this Siege, a Star in the form of a Sword appear'd upon *Jerusalem*, and a Comet was seen over it a whole year, which are signs by which God denounces his wrath to Men,

and which the wise have always taken for so many Lightnings which precede Thunderbolts. This misfortune did not take away from the *Jews* all hope of raising themselves again out of their ruines: but *Adrian* the Emperor put an end to these seditious persons by one Battel only, in which he destroy'd them Fifty eight thousand Men, and razed them above Nine hundred and fourscore Towns. He was so severe to them then, that he forbade them that were left, that they should so much as look back into their Countrey afar off, and granted no other favor, but to go once a year, and look upon the Walls of *Jerusalem*, the day that they had been ruin'd by *Titus*; that they might entertain the curiosity of their despair, and that they might see all at one time their Goods possess'd, their Law violated, their Mysteries abolish'd, their Liberty lost, and their Enemies victorious over their Fathers Tombs.

## C H A P. XI.

*Of the destruction of Rome.*

**T**Hose that will consider the pomp and glory of *Rome*, and its misfortunes, will find in it two different faces; they will see the same Men loaden with Iron, and with booty, and cannot doubt but their defeats have been as remarkable as their victories. The Exile of the *Tarquins*, that of *Coriolan*, the divisions of *Sylla*, of *Marinus*, of *Catiline*, of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, cost them much blood and tears; but the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Germans*, and the *Sarazens*, added their ruines to their loss, and made but a Slaughter-house of the finest City in the Universe. The *Gaules* were the first Men that took Arms against the *Romans*, by a sentiment of vengeance rather than ambition, because one of their Senators had struck with a Knife, a Man of their Nation, who had only touched his Beard; this blow was so sensible to them, that at the same instant, they prepar'd themselves to let the *Romans* understand, that they would never forget such a wrong, and that courage and patience was almost incompatible. In effect, after they had vanquish'd them, they came into *Rome*, where they kill'd all the Senators upon their seats, plunder'd

der'd all their Treasures, and burnt all their Houses; and had it not been for the generosity of *Camilla*, and the cry of Geese who were the guards of the Capitol, they had nothing to do more, than to thank the gods for such a good fortune. The *Goths* took it for the second time under the Reign of the Emperor *Gratian*, and two of their Kings *Athalaric* and *Alinph*, alter'd several times the Government, and so the face of all the City, that they would have alter'd their language it self, and their name, if *Galla Placida*, daughter to the Emperor *Honorius*, had not obliged these Northern Men to turn their Arms against the *Spaniards*. Four and forty years after, in *Martinian's* time, *Genferick* King of the *Vandals*, was fourteen days a plundering and destroying it, and since them, the *Germans* under the conduct of *Odacer*, Prince of the *Herulians*, brought so many Novelties, that the Majesty of the Empire could never recover either its strength or its splendor, but by the valor of *Charlemagne* *Theodoric* of *Verona*, who expell'd this *Odacer*, and who reigned fifty years in *Rome* with the *Ostrogoths*, had reduc'd this poor people to strange and cruel necessities, and had it not been for *Belisarius*, who brought him to the obedience of the Emperor *Justinian*, their lives and their servitude had been inseparable. But as Men, and affairs never remain long

one posture, their rest was not durable, and their loss was still so easy, that it seem'd wishes were sufficient to bring it about. That's the cause that *Totila* King of the *Goths*, began a Campaigne, to put an end to their ruine, and did not think he had taken *Rome*, except he had satiated his ambition by his cruelty. After he had razed their Walls, and plunder'd their Treasures, he set fire to the Town, which lasted forty days; one may judge whether the conflagration was prodigious or no, since the water of *Tyber* was not free from it; and in certain places they dreaded the fire, where they formerly dreaded inundations. Thus *Rome* in less time than a hundred and thirty six years, was seven times taken; and for the most part laid waste; its Citizens saw themselves loaden with the same Chains, that they use to punish Rebels with; and Liberty, which was their ancientest Prerogative, was not the greatest of their losses. This Scourge of God, and this Monster of Nature, took it again three years after; and because he could not suffer that this Nation, whose authority all others had had in veneration, should comfort themselves of their griefs, and of the memory of his last conquest over them, without giving them any time for it, practis'd such an horrible vengeance over them again, that even 'tis a kind of inhumanity to think or express it. It seems still that it

was not enough that Usurpers should destroy such a fair and large City, if it self had not produced Children, but rather Vipers, which tore her bowels asunder as they came forth of it; and that those whose misfortunes it had cause to fear, brought hers, and that Civil as well as Foreign Wars should waste her. *Constantians*, son to *Constantine*, had the same ambition and cruelty as the forenamed, and made a pastime of its spoils, and drew more riches from it in a fortnights time, than the *Barbarians* did in two hundred and fifty eight years. The *Sarazens* were not content a good while after to plunder it, they prophaned its Temples, they set fire to its finest Edifices, and would not leave it, till they had made as great slaughter in it as Treasures. *Arnulph*, Emperor of *Germany*, having an opinion, That the glory of a King could not be advanced but at the cost of *Rome*, was not the last that besieged it; he took it by an extraordinary accident, and by a casualty that strikes as much pity as admiration. When his Soldiers were earnestly at work about their Trenches, they saw a Hare running through their Camp, and no sooner perceiv'd it, but the most part left their work, and follow'd it with such confused shouts, that never was any Curiosity so ridiculous, nor so fortunate. The *Romans* frightened at this strange noise, abandon'd their Walls  
and

and their Arms: manag'd their safety by their flight, defended themselves no other way but by their tears, and resisted their Enemies so little, that it seems that they rather prepared themselves to receive their Enemies into their Countrey, than to beat them out. At this time all the submissions of the Inhabitants was less consider'd than their Treasures, the Imperialists had no regard but to their particular interest; and their Prince was no more remarkable by his good success, than by his vengeance. Henry the Emperor could not moderate his resentment against *Gregory VIII.* but put himself in a posture to satisfy it; and although the *Normans* opposed their Forces to his in the Popes behalf, he went as far in his Conquests as others had done before him, and made his name as dreadful to the *Romans* as his passion. To give you an example which is not very remote from our Age, one may read the last overthrow of *Rome*, in the History of *Charles V.* King of *France*, where one may find that the Soldiers, after they had seen the death of *Charles of Bourbon*, and after they had taken the Town by assault, did revenge so well the death of that famous Commander, that their Sacriledges would have been spoken of, as well as their fury, if they had not spared their Temples, more than their Palaces, and if the Altars had not put bounds to their insolence.

Thus

Thus you may see that this City was taken thirteen times, and thirteen times ruined; and that the *Romans* ought to know that they are subject to the same misfortunes which they inflicted upon others; and that one may lose in one day, that which one hath been many years acquiring.

## CH A P. XII.

### *Of the destruction of Constantinople.*

**B**izantium, a Lacedemonian Commander, built this City, which was taken twice by *Pausanias*, and by *Calliadus*, and which having rebelled against the *Roman* Empire, kept for a long time the Sovereignty. The Emperor *Severus*, who had a design to make himself absolute in the East, had no sooner received intelligence of the death and defeat of *Pescennius Niger* in *Cicillia*, but he sent that Princes head to the *Bizantins*, who were become their Protectors, imagining to fright them by that spectacle; and that after he had overcome their resolution, he should have no more to do, but to defend himself from the insolence of the *Araber* and *Parthes*; but the *Bizantins*, in lieu of consideration to *Severus's* good Fortune, had none but of *Niger's* bad one; and as if they could not have honour'd the memory of



of this, but by having the other in derision, they endeavour'd to save the reliques of the *Moors* Army, and to use it again against the Emperor. *Severius* hearing this, sent his Legions against *Bizantium*, besieg'd it three years together, without any hope to overcome it, he bear upon the Town so many ways, that his obstinacy proved more advantagious to him than his courage. After many Combats, and many Assaults sustained by Land and by Sea, the Besieged seeing their ships all shattered, the Sea dyed with the blood of their companions, the streets cover'd with the dead bodies of their most honourable Citizens, and Famine which pressed them much more than the Arms of their Enemies, were at last constrain'd to receive such conditions as they would prescribe, and to abandon to them that which they could defend no longer. The *Romans* lookt upon their misery as a just punishment from Heaven, instead of taking it for an example; and in the remembrance of the losses which they had often receiv'd by them, they kill'd all their Magistrates, and sacrific'd all their noblest families to their vengeance. *Severius*, who advanc'd his Conquest in the East, whilst this Siege was carried on, received those agreeable news in *Mesopotamia*; and as if their Rebellion had not been sufficiently punish'd by so many innocent Victims, he abolish'd all their ancient

cient Priviledges, ruin'd all their goodly Walls, and gave their possessions to the *Perinthians*, who were their ancientest Enemies, who reduced the finest City of *Thracia* to a little Village. The compassion he took of it, afterwards oblig'd him to restore it to its first splendor, but the expences that the great *Constantine* laid about it, did much surpass those of *Severinus*; and though he would have it call'd *New Rome*, the people who had a great veneration for the name of this Prince, could not suffer that it should be call'd by any other name but *Constantinople*: but truly it might be call'd *New Rome*, since *Constantine* had settled the Throne there, and that for the space of five hundred years; it was so absolute, that all other Cities were subject to her: but *Charlemain* took away from her the Empire of the West, and so left her but only the dominion of the East, which was at last usurp'd from her by the *French* and the *Flemins*, under the command of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*. But of all her losses, which at divers times she sustained by *Pausanias*, by *Calliadus*, by *Alcibiades*, by *Severinus*, by *Gallian*, and by the *Gauls*, there were none so sensible, as that which she receiv'd by *Mahomet*, who took above Two hundred Towns from the Christians, and who in less than Thirty two years time conquer'd twelve Kingdoms, and two Empires. After *Mahomet* was raised upon

upon the Throne of the *Ottomans*, he no sooner call'd to mind that *Bajazet*, and *Amurath* the second his father, had in time past employ'd all their Forces to destroy *Constantinople*, but he form'd the same design; and as if good success had been alwayes obliged to second his enterprizes, he thought it as easie to take, as to besiege. 'Twas for this end that he built the Fort of *Lemocopia*, upon the shore of the River *Propontidus*, of that side that is towards *Europe*, that he might prevent assistance from those parts, and have the freer passage in *Asia*; he employ'd an infinite number of Workmen to the building of a Fleet, and casting of Artillery of so prodigious a Carriage, that an 140 Oxen were requir'd to draw one into the field, and 2000 Pyoneers. He was himself at the head of his Army to inspire courage into his *Janisaries* and his Soldiers by his presence; and because he was not ignorant that this Conquest would add much to his glory, he besieg'd it with Four hundred thousand Men by Land, and 30 Gallies, and above 200 Ships by Sea. The Walls were but weak on the Sea-side, but on the Land-side there was double Walls, and double Rampars; and though the first Wall was not very high, yet it was secur'd by a double Trench, which was run up of each side with free stone: Whil'st the Emperor of *Greece* defended himself on the Sea-side, as he had  
been

been forced to do in *Anurath's* time, the *Turks* approached on the Land-side with two pieces of Artillery, which carried 200 Bullets weight a-piece; and by reason that they shoot these slanting to shake the Wall, they fired another opposite which carried more by one third, to tumble down that which was batter'd before. The *Janisaries*, defended by their Shields and Targets, shot such a numberless number of Arrows, that the Besieg'd dur'd not appear. Another way *Mahomet* had commanded four Towers to be made upon Machines, from which his men cast a great quantity of Darts and Grana- does, to favor the work of those that undermined the Walls. There was but one thing that put the *Turks* out of order; the *Greeks* had laid a Chain which reached quite cross the Har- bors mouth, which is nine Miles in compass, and the Road fifteen in length; but *Mahomet*, who had no other obstacle, caused 60 of his Men of War to sail as high as *Galatia*, then he drew them up by strength of Men on the top of a small Hill with all their Tackling, and he let them down on the other side in their Har- bor, secured by the help of Arrows and Fire- works, and so he assaulted the Town in such a manner, that the *Greeks* persuaded by *Ismael*, the son of *Scander*, Prince of *Synopia*, sent a man to *Mahomet*, who heard all his Proposi- tions, and who to raise the Siege, requir'd of him

him but an hundred thousand Ducats to be paid yearly. But when he understood that the *Greeks* refus'd him that Tribute, and that their Money was more considerable to them than their Liberty, he storm'd the Town, and made himself Master of it, so that nothing was seen in it for a long time but Torrents of Fire and Blood. There the most innocent were massacred, and the most virtuous Maids ravish'd: the flames devour'd the houses of *Constantinople*. After the *Turks* had butcher'd the Inhabitants, those amongst them that were most cruel, were counted the faithfullest; their great actions were numbred by the murders they had committed; and those who brought most heads to their Captains, were thought worthy of most Crowns. In short, there was nothing left of *Constantinople*, but the ruines of it; they were all slain, burnt or banisht: and *Mahomet* made the Tomb of *Constantine* the first step to ascend to his Throne.

## C H A P.

## CHAP. XIII,

## Of the Ruine of several Towns.

**T** Roy may be named with the famoussest Cities of Antiquity; but as nothing could secure it against that universal Fate which we treat of, we find that it was no more durable than others, that its stones could not resist fire, and that men Till at this time upon most part of its Edifices. *Babylon*, whose strength and splendor could smother the ambition of its Enemies, at the same time that it produced it in the hearts of Victors, was at last overcome by *Cyrus*, who divided *Euphrates* in 365 Channels, because whilst that River was united, it was impossible to attempt it; and so weakned it by this means, that since that time, the *Persians*, the *Medes*, the *Greeks*, the *Egyptians*, the *Arabians*, the *Sarazins*, and the *Turks*, wanted no longer time to take it, than they to ruine it. *Ninive* with its hundred Towers, *Thebes* with its hundred Gates, have been both subject to the same Revolution; the matter of their glory became that of their disaster; and at this day one may run over those Buildings, whose heighth one could hardly reach with the eye. *Sparta*, which was the chief City of *Greece*, is now a Desart; *Athens*, which

which was the refuge of the Learned, is now but that of venomous Beasts, and Monsters; and the glory of those two fair Enemies, is buried with them. *Sardis*, which was the finest and most opulent City in *Lydia*, is the most ruined; and Grass is seen to grow, where the brightness of Jasper and Marble hath been seen to shine. *Sicambria*, that the *Trojans* built after their overthrow, doth subsist but in Histories. *Aranta*, *Ayguilan*, and *Cower*, have been consumed by fire and time; and we have no mention of them, but of their ill fortune and names. *Visby*, situate in the Isle of *Gothland*, was not only redoubtful by a famous Castle that it was defended by, it was besides so opulent, that it was even the admiration of all *Europe*; The *Suedes*, the *Russians*, the *Danes*, *Prussians*, *English*, *Scots*, *Flemings*, *French*, *Saxons*, and the *Spaniards*, were no sooner come into this City, but they made it their abode and Countrey: each Nation had its particular street; the natural Citizens, and the strangers, had the same rights and priviledges; and there was such an agreement between their several humors at that time, as there is between several instruments of Musick in a Consort. They were all rich, and yet not covetous; and all liberal, without profusion; they limited their desires and hopes in their own security; peace and rest were but part of the happiness they

enjoyed, and their ambition was enclosed in their Walls. Nevertheless they did not long continue in this felicity, the *Vandals* besieged and took them: and these insatiable Neighbors in their avarice as well as in their cruelty, robbed them of part of their riches, and consumed the rest with fire. And if we may believe *Olaus's* relation of it, we will find that never Town was equal to this; for amongst its ruines, a considerable time after, were found silver and brass Shuttles, and a great many copper and iron doors, besides several marble pillars, and other works of Jasper which had resisted the violence of the flames. Fortune was not content to waste the North of the World, it proceeded to the South, where the effects of it have made it apparent, that there is nothing free from revolution; that 'tis she that turned the golden age, to an age of iron, and that our situation is never so much in danger, as when she goeth about to preserve *Tusat*, which was built by the *Romans* in the Desert of *Numidia*, by the side of a small River which hath its head amongst some hills, was in former times compassed with good Walls, beset with the great and high Structures that was beautified with; but it would be in vain to seek for its Palaces, its Fortifications, and its Temples. *Damfa*, which was in the same Region, of which the *Romans* had made

strong



strong Garison upon the Ocean shore, 60 miles from Mount *Atlas*, was notable by the prodigious number of its inhabitants; notwithstanding the King of *Portugal*, with 50 Men of War terrifi'd them so, that they abandon'd it every one, and left to these secret Enemies, the choice of destroying or preserving it. The Admiral, who did not expect to have such a great progress, went in with most of his men, and so sacrific'd it to his vengeance, that he could not at last forbear weeping over it, as *Scipio* had done over *Carthage*, after he had consider'd that there had been but one day between its splendor and its destruction. When the *Turks* went into *Africk*, they depopulated 2 of the greatest Cities of *Barbary*, to wit, *Capia* and *Tripoly*; what we see of them now, is but a fair remnant of their first ruines. *Scepta*, which the *Romans* built upon the straits of Mount *Hercules*, was the capital City of *Mauritania*, and flourished in such a manner, that it wanted nothing that can make a place considerable. For all that, its scituation and opulence could not defend it from the *Goths*, who after they had taken it, were expelled it afterwards by the *Sarazins*, of which *Julian* the Earl made use to revenge himself of the injury he had received of *Roderick*, and which he helped so far in his resentment, that this King of the *Goths* and *Spain* lost both his dominions with

his life. The *Mahometans* were no sooner possess'd of it, but they endeavour'd to people it, and to embellish it with more curiosity than others had done before them; but the Pontif *Habdul Mumen*, after he had retaken it from them, caus'd their best houses to be pull'd down, and the greatest part of their Nobility punish'd with servitude or exile. One of the Kings of *Grenade*, having since that time gotten over them a Conquest advantagious enough, banisht from it most part of the Inhabitants, carried away that which was most precious and costly from thence, and left nothing behind him but that which was of no use; and made her the scorn of that which she had been the supporter of and the admiration. At last in the year 918, another King of *Portugal* besieg'd it; and because that the Besieg'd were without hopes, they left their Means and their Countrey to their Enemies, because they had not been assisted by their King of *Fez*, who had at that time preferred his pleasure to their safety, and who at all times loved his diversiments more than his glory. That which *Diodorus* relates is much more surprizing, when he saith, that *Sempranius* the Consul took from the *Aculians* 50 Cities in 50 dayes; and if we believe another, we may read that *Severius Julius* General to the Emperor *Adrian*, razed 50 Cities, and burnt 50 Villages in *Palestina*.

will not treat here of *Treves*, which, according to some mens opinion, was the first City that was built after the flood, or at least 13 years before *Rome*, nor of so many others which are not to be heard of but in the Commentaries of *Cæsar*, and in the Books of *Leo the African*, of *Munster*, of *Strabo*, and of *Diodorus*. I will content my self of those I have spoken of, to make appear that men have seen their misery, at the same time that their power was admir'd; that by this we may remember, that our modesty should most appear in our good Fortunes, seeing that the greatest prosperities are most dangerous. But to shew you that it is not Wars alone that contributes to our undoings, and that things perish often by that which should preserve them, we will prove by some Examples that the Elements are equally to be fear'd, by their burnings, tempests, earthquakes, inundations; and that our lives and deaths have for the most part but the same principle.

Of the unhappy Accidents that have  
been caused by the Elements.

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#### CHAP. XIV.

##### Of Earthquakes.

**T***Hales* and *Democrites*, which have inquired into the nature of the finest things, and who seem to give Laws, when they give their judgment of them, have affirm'd, That *Water* alone was the cause of this agitation, which at all times hath been the cause of our astonishment and destruction. The *Stoicks* say, That it is the moisture that is in the earth, which forceth a passage for its self, when it comes to be subtilized into Air. *Anaxagoras* is of opinion, That the Air is no sooner gotten under the earth, but it strives to get out again, and being hindred by the top, which it finds too strong and too thick, it shakes it with violence. *Aristotle* proveth, That the earth being cold everywhere, heat, which is light of its nature, requireth an ascent; and the dry exhalation finding it self confined underneath it, shakes it to open it. *Metrodorus* grounded upon that principle, saith, That a Body which is

in its Centre, never moves, except another thrusts it, or draws it; that some parts of the earth run to the other: but that it can't shake it self, since it is in its proper place. *Anaximenes*, who thinks the World flat, maintains that it is carried upon the Air, and some others say upon the Water, as a Board that swims, and that this is the cause of its motions and disorders. *Plato*, *Parmenidas*, and *Democrites*, make them proceed from other causes: But *Epicurus* is doubtless the skilfullest of them all; and we may conclude with him, That the earth is agitated by the Air which is thickened under it, and which hath the nature of Water; but the earth having Caves in its lowest parts, it may be shaken also by the Winds that get into empty places. Howsoever it is, we will describe some misfortunes which have hapned to us by those horrible accidents; and since we labour more for History, than Philosophy, we will shew here the effects, of which the others can shew you the causes. The Chancellor of *England* in his *Morals and Politicks*, in the Chapter of the Revolution of Kingdoms, saith, That the matter of things is in perpetual motion, that it never stops, and that Floods and Earthquakes are like two winding sheets, that wrap all things up in forgetfulness. Nevertheless we have not lost the remembrance of that which we are about to relate;

and we will find matter enough among the Ancients, to prove that Earthquakes are not only modern. There was such an one in *Asia*, that three Towns were overthrown under their foundations; and 24 years after, there was two in *Asia*, and two in *Greece*, which were swallowed up by another; the report of which frightened those that were farthest off. In the year of our Lord 115, under *Trajan's* Reign, as *Ensebins* relates, three Cities perish'd this way in *Spain*; and as if the earth had endeavour'd its own confusion, it came to pass at that very time, that *Antioch*, which was the Metropolitan of *Syria*, was shaken by it in a most dreadful manner. After *Trajan* to oblige the *Romans* had added to their dominion, and had made the Kings of *Iberius*, of *Ostroencens*, of *Arabia*, of *Colchos*, of *Bosphorus*, of *Edeffus*, and *Marcomedus*, either their Subjects or Allies, made choice of *Antioch*, to rest himself of his great labours, and to get as much respite and Forces as he wanted, to extend his Conquests beyond *Tyber*, and pursue his victories to the last confusion of the *Parthes*. The Emperor saw at that time a prodigious number of strangers at Court, and himself compass'd by all sorts of men which were drawn there, some for the interest of their Traffick, and others by Curiosity. In these two different stations was first heard an horrible noise from underground,

ground, which was follow'd by a violent agitation: and as if this Earthquake had not sufficed to make the hearts of the most resolute tremble, there was seen at that time a part of the houses carried away by a Whirlwind, and others shaken by the roaring aforementioned. This Tempest went yet further, it dissipated the materials that were laid by for some great buildings; it raised such a thick dust, that one could not see one another, and tossed up even the strongest with such a force, that their fall and their death were but the same thing. This storm did not only fall upon those of the Town, it cast up by the roots several Trees in the fields, which shew'd in the Air like flying Forests, and casted a great way off, Wood and Stones. *Pedan*, the *Roman* Consul, was kill'd under the ruines of the houses that fell; and *Trajan* did escape that danger by an extreme good Fortune, which is a kind of a miracle; he was forced to go out at the windows of the house where he was, and to wait in Tents, his good or ill Fortune. Is it not by such an accident, that *Nicomedia*, and *Nicoa*, are become invisible? That the Spires of the ancient *Smirna*, are now lower than their foundations: That 13000 people dyed at *Constantinople*, and that the whole Town was almost destroyed. *Venice* was in danger by a more prodigious accident, it lasted a whole fortnight; and though

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it was not very violent at first, yet it appeared that the disorders of Nature, is like Choler, which is never more cruel than when it is slow. We read in History, that in *Portugal*, there was another which continu'd a week; and that there was above a thousand houses ruin'd at *Lisbon*, and above two hundred shaken; that Men were buried pell-mell with Beasts: and it seemed that the Earth could less suffer that Kingdom upon its face, than in its bowels. The same wind carried a Terror into *Naples*; and the same year the City *Ariano*, was swallow'd up by another Earthquake with eight thousand Souls. The Towns of *Dascoly*, of *Cannossus*, of *Tragens*, of *Agatus*, and the Castle of *Arpy*, disappear'd by a Hurricane in the Countrey of *Molissus*: and those of *Paduble*, of *Campolassus*, and of *Macona*, where thirty thousand men dyed, were their own burying places. When the Emperor was at *Spoletta*, there was such a marvellous Earthquake in *Italy*, that it laid the tops of several mountains lower than their vallies: and a good while before, the Earth was so generally shaken, that men were of opinion it would have taken away the power from the fire from destroying of her. Some men have thought that Earthquakes, which are ordinary in the *Indies*, were occasioned by *Vulcannello's*, because that the hot exhalations which are engendred in the

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concavity of the Earth, seem to be the chief cause of this fire, by which even a coarser matter is kindled, and makes that smoke and those flames which it sends forth. As these exhalations find no free passage through the Earth, they move it to get away with a great violence; and from that cause as they imagine doth proceed that great noise which is heard from thence, and that dreadful motion, when it is shaken by those ardent exhalations, in the same manner that Saltpeter breaks Rocks, when it is set on fire in the Mines. Earthquakes happen also near Rivers ordinarily, and the Sea, and generally near any water, because it stops up the concavities of the Earth, whereby those exhalations should come forth which are bred in it; and humidity binding the superficies of it, keeps fast those hot exhalations, which break through with more violence from the place which they are confined in, when they come to inflame themselves. The curious and the learned have remark'd by this, that Earthquakes are not frequent where there are many Wells; and though they had not made that observation, men might have learnt it by experience. The *Mexicans* have alwayes been of opinion, That their Earthquakes proceed from the Lake upon which their City is situated; but we cannot say that those parts which are far in the Land, are free from the disasters which are  
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occasion'd by these irregularities of Nature, as the City of *Chachapoyas* in the *Indies*, and *Ferrarus* in *Italy*; although indeed, this latter for being near a River, and not far from the Adriatique Sea, may be counted a Maritime Town. There are such great Earthquakes in *Pern*, as *Acosta* relates, that they have reached from *Chilyus* to *Quitto*, that is to say, above fifteen hundred long miles. There was one he tells us of, at *Chilyus*, which tumbled down whole Mountains, which stopped the ordinary courses of Rivers, and turn'd them into Lakes, which kill'd an unspeakable number of men, which overthrew Towers, and thrust the Sea out of its place, so that ships were left on shore a great way off of the ordinary Road, which caus'd more mischief than can be imagin'd, and the noise of which went above a thousand miles, by the Coasts. Some time after, in the year 1582. another Earthquake overthrew most part of the Town *Arequipa*; and since that time in the year 1586. the ninth of *July*, the City of *Kings* was afflicted by another, which ran along the Coast 510 miles, and 150 in breadth, in the Countrey of *Sjerra*. An horrible noise preceded this Earthquake, which disturb'd the Sea in the same manner as that of *Chilyus*, so that it went beyond its precincts, and ran above six miles in the Land, and swelled

led above fourteen fathoms. The year following there was another in the Kingdom and City of *Quitto*; and in the year 1581, there hapned such a strange one in the City of *Chuguiano*, otherwise call'd *Peaceful*, in *Pern*, that a certain Town call'd *Angbango*, which was inhabited by Inchanters and Idolatrous persons, fell instantly into ruine; and the earth of the mountains that fell down, ran like water or melted wax, five miles upon the Vallies, filled up a Lake, and remained always scatter'd upon the Countrey. I will not particularize the same misfortunes of the most famous Cities of *Asia*, of *Achaya*, of *Syria* and *Macedonia* nor; speak of the Isles of *Cyprus* and *Paphos*, which have been so extremely endamag'd by those Accidents, lest I should tire, rather than divert the mind: and the number of examples doth neither fortifie nor embellish it. It is time to look upon floating Cities, and others under water; and to consider that such Countries have been far enough from the Sea, which are now hid by it.

## C H A P. XV.

*Of Inundations and Floods.*

I Need not Treat in this place of that universal Flood which rob'd us of one of the Elements, and reduc'd the whole World to a Sea ; the memory of which will last as long as the World it self. It would be to describe a thing which children are not ignorant of, and the knowledge of which is natural to all men. This was an effect of the wrath of God ; but I will make more particular remarks. And since my design is to Treat simply of the inconstancy of Fortune, I will demonstrate by that wherein she acts most, that it commands all things except virtue ; that one may suffer shipwrack upon several Towns, and ships sail at this day over places that have been formerly fertile in Tillage. At the time that the Patriarch Jacob served *Laban* his Father-in-law in *Mesopotamia*, *Orofs* relates, that in the Country of *Achaya*, where *Ogiges* reigned, there was such a great Inundation, that it cover'd all the Isles ; the Cattel swam where they used to feed, and the Inhabitants by their fire-sides were wrapt up in the waves. Poësie, which disguiseth all things, and turneth the finest Histories into Fables, hath left us a picture of *Prometheus*

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torn by an Eagle upon Mount *Caucase*, and represents him so unhappy, that it hath made a martyrdom of his sufferings. But it is requisite to explain in a few words this Enigm, and to shew with *Diodorus* a *Sicilian*, that it is not so much a Moral that one should seek in this, as a Truth that one should believe. I will not examine in this Chapter, whether the Winds, which are call'd *Ethesiens*, swell up *Nilus*, or the Tydes of the Ocean: nor whether it is by the Snows of *Ethiopia*, or those of the North: or if the Land, and the Waters of *Lybia*, great Rains, or the contrariety of seasons, occasion that miracle that happens every year in *Egypt*. I need not describe to you that the Land that lieth in the intern *Ethiopia*, grows wider taperwise, till it reacheth to the *Cape of Good Hope*, which may be the true cause of the Inundations of *Nilus*, which are always in the Summer, because their Winter and their great Rains begin always in *April*, when the Sun is past *Aries*, and comes to *Taurus*: And as those Waters which come from those great Rains and Snows, gather together, and become great Lakes and great Rivers, which run all into this, so it increaseth its self, and after a long way, it comes at last to spread it self in *Egypt*. This ought not to be very strange, nor seem beyond reason, since it is Winter at the head of *Nilus*, that's to say, in the Tropick of *Capricorn*,

corn, when it is Summer in *Egypt*, which is under the Tropick of *Cancer*. Howsoever *Acosta* saith, That there is in *America* an Inundation much like that of *Nilus*, and that *Paragoy*, where the River of *Platta* overflows its banks every year, by reason of the great quantity of Waters which fall from *Pern*; and because of these dreadful Inundations, men are forced in that month to forsake the Earth, to inhabit in Barges. Now to come to my Subject, I will affirm with *Diodorus*, That in the beginning of the Dog-days in *Ositius's* time, son of *Saturn*, *Nilus* overflowed so prodigioussly, that this River, which had always caused great fertility in *Egypt*, was like to cause its last ruine; and the Countrey of *Promethens* was so wasted, that he was in danger of losing his life, as well as his dominions. This Prince having with much ado escaped, might behold his own condition with regret; he saw all his Houses carried away by the rapidity of the Waters, all his Subjects devoured either by Crocodiles or Fishes, all his Treasures ravisht from him, and all his hopes dead with his Subjects. He had no man left to his command, and knew not how Fate should dispose of him. He could not open his eyes, without seeing that which he had in honour; from the top of Mount *Caucase*, he beheld at the bottom his riches affloate; and his misfortune was so pressing, that it seem-

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ed at that time that Fortune had left him no other advantage, but the choice of dying with his own hands. As he saw that it was the sole happiness that was left for him, he thought fit to make use of it; and from hence proceeds the opinion of the Poets, that he was torn by an Eagle, because they could find nothing that could set forth the rapidness of the River, but by the flight of an Eagle, and in effect *Nilus* was the cause of his despair and lost condition. The Ancients give us an account of a Flood very like this in *Thessalia*, under the Reign of *Cecrops*: they declare to us, for a long while together, there was seen whole Forests swimming; and affirm, that the highest Mountains were but so many dangerous Banks; and that of so many men that inhabited that fair Kingdom, there were none saved but a few which *Deucalion* admitted upon mount *Parnassus*. Who doth not know that the same Accident hath threatned three times the ruine of the Isle of *Rhodes*? And if a little while after *Alexander's* death, the Wall of the Town had not yielded to the Waters that beat against it, who doubts but the end of this adventure had been that of its power? The *Indians* speak of a Deluge they had, which was so great, and so terrible, that a man cant judge, saith *Acofta*, whether it be that which we read of in the Scripture, or a particular Inundation of the Regions  
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wherein they live. Some of the Learned have been of opinion even before *Acoſta's* time, that it was different from that of *Noe*, and was very like that one finds of *Ducalion* in the Poets. The *Indians* ſay that all Mankind was drowned in this flood; and that there came out of the great Lake *Tiracaca*, a *Virucoba*, that's to ſay, a great Bark, which ſtayed awhile at *Tiaguanaco*, and from thence came to *Cuſco*, where men multiply'd without any obſtacle. They deſcribe in this Lake a little Iſland, wherein according to their opinion the Sun was preſerved, and this is the reaſon that they ſacrificed Beaſts and Men to it. Others maintain that ſix men came out of a Cave call'd *Pacaricambo*, and that they began to multiply, and that's the cauſe that they call them *Pacariamto's*. From this they draw this conſequence, That there is no race of Men ſo ancient as the *Tambos*, from whom is deſcended *Mango Capa*, Head and Founder of the *Inguas*; that two Families iſſued from them, one call'd *Hanan-Cuſco*, and the other *Urny-Cuſco*, and the *Inguas* had always this pretext in their Wars, that great and ſmall were obliged to obey them, ſince all the World ſprung from them and their Countrey.

When *Chilperic* reigned in *France*, *Arvergne* was almoſt ruined by prodigious Rains, which ſeemed to make but one Lake of that whole Province, and a Sea of their Rivers, and of its Rivulets



Rivulets great Rivers. This Countrey was not alone afflicted by it; the *Rhone* overflowed, and mixt its Waters with those of the Sea, and cover'd the land, that many Buildings were carried away by them; and the Inhabitants of *Bordeaux*, who saw part of their Walls fall by the same Accident, were longer a recovering themselves from the fright it put them in, than from the loss they had. In the time of the Emperor *Maurice*, there hapned a flood all over *Italy*; in several places the Water was as high as the top of Steeples, *Tybre* made it self a passage over the Walls of *Rome*; and this Inundation was followed by so much Thundering, that Fire and Water both undertook the destruction of *Verona*, so that a part of it was set on float, and the other burned down. Five hundred years after, there was again such a flood in *Italy*, that all sorts of people were in great danger both in City and Countrey; the tame Beasts and Fowls were so frightened with it, that since that they became wild; and in this fatal disaster, there was none but would have taken *Italy* for a Sea. About Two hundred years after, the Sea covered in an instant *Friezeland* and *Halderick*, when the people thought of nothing but their pleasures; their Joyes were turned into sadness: and as if God had forgotten his promise, that he would destroy the World no more by Water, those men thought

that their misery was common to all men. True it is, that it was followed by another no less strange; the Air became infectious of a sudden, Men, Beasts and Fowls sucked in their deaths, as they breathed for life; and all that which had escap'd the Inundation, was snatch'd away by the Plague. In time past *Holland* suffered much by such Accidents, when behind *Dorerech*, the Sea swallow'd up an Hundred thousand men, together with some Towns, and a great many Villages; and since that time, floods and inundations have caused so much loss in some parts, that the men of those parts tremble still at the hearing of it. What's become of the Towns of *Helice* and *Buris*, are they not become the maygames and the prey of the Waves? And hath not *Tyrtre* been seen floating upon the Waters that buried it? If men reflect upon those of the *West-Indies*, they shall find that their Rivers are so subject to overflow their Banks, that those of *Africa*, of *Asia* and *Europe*, are in comparison of them but Rivulets: And if the question be asked how the Inhabitants subsist there, they may know that Nature hath afforded them many ways to save themselves sometimes, and to flee to their mountains, which are much higher than those of the old World. And I am of opinion with the great Chancellor of *England*, That what an *Egyptian* Priest tells *Solon* touching the *At-*

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*lambique* Isle, is not at all likely; and that it rather disappeared by an Inundation, than by an Earthquake. If we may believe *Plato*, he maintains that it was by a flood that this Isle was lost; that it was as big as *Africa* and *Asia* together; that there was in it a Temple which was a mile long, and half a mile broad, whose Walls were overlaid with silver on the outside, the top with gold, and the inside with rough Ivory interlac'd with gold, silver, and pearls. If *Critias*, who related this to *Plato*, did not make an History of a Fable, of all losses this hath been the greatest. Howsoever floods have been the cause of so many disasters, that the greatest conflagrations and droughts are nothing in comparison of them; the two last scourges of Nature afflict it, but they don't destroy it: and all men know that *Phaeton's* Chariot lasted but a day, and that the three years drought of *Elias's* time were very sensible, but did not deprive people of their lives. Nevertheless we will shew in the two following Chapters some remarkable effects of both, and by that we shall be inform'd that there is no stable thing in the Universe; that the objects of our hopes, are often those of our fears; and that the aliments of our lives, are sometimes the destruction of them.

## CHAP. XVI.

## Of the Air.

**T**Here are but few men in the World, but know that Famine is caused by the driness of the Air, and that the greatest plagues proceed from its corruption. But as there hath been some of all kind, the cause of some hath been unknown to us, in the search of which Philosophy it self hath been pulled. There hapned such an one at *Athens*, that Birds of prey fled from those which were smitten with it; and out of the bodies of such as were sick of it near the Red Sea, there were seen to come forth little Serpents, which gnawed their Legs and Arms, the which ran in again as soon as one went to meddle with them, kept in their intrals, and put them to more Torture than ever was invented by Tyranny. *Thales* of *Candia*, was forced to go to *Lacedemonia*, to deliver his Citizens of a grievous one that afflicted them: And we read in *Homer*, That there was such an one among the *Greeks*, that they could not be eased but by Musick. The *Phalerians* being not able to find a remedy against the Plague, went and consulted their Oracle, to know what the issue of it would be; they answer'd, That their torments could not cease, till they

they offered every year a Maid to Juno: and the lot fell upon *Valeria Laperca*, who was destined to this Sacrifice. In the midst of this mournful Ceremony, which they held a great mystery, an Eagle alighted upon her, and immediately fell upon the Priest, took away his sacrificing Knife, and laid it over a young Heifer, which ever since was the Victim, and the *Phalerians* with *Valeria* were deliver'd of this misery. In the *Lacedemonians* Countrey, there hapned such another adventure, in *Helen's* favor; and this Wonder which surpriz'd them, was the cause that they left off offering of their daughters, since they could pacifie the gods with other Victims. When the Soldiers of *Avidius Crassus*, who was *Marc Anthony's* Lieutenant, were in the City of *Selucia*, they found a Chest in *Apollo's* Temple, which they seized upon as soon as they saw it; but Avarice was never better rewarded, nor Curiosity more fatal than theirs; for as soon as they had open'd it, there came forth of it such corrupted Air, that after it had infected all the Region of *Babylon*, it ran as far as *Greece*, and from thence into *Italy*; so that one third part of the World dyed. In those Desarts of *Peru*, which the *Indians* call *Punam*, there is Air, which penetrates in such sort, that it cuts asunder the bodies and lives of men. Those which were forced to go through it under the conduct of

*Jerome Costilla*, dyed almost every one; and the quality of this Air is so strange, that it preserves those bodies that it killeth. They are free from corruption, and ill smells, as *Acosta* writes, who giveth this reason for it, That this kind of cold is so piercing, that it extinguishes natural heat, at the same time that it cuts off its influence; and that this cold hinders bodies from corrupting of themselves, since we see that corruption proceeds but from heat and humidity.

After the death of *Periclus* the *Athenian* Captain, at the latter end of the first year of the Wars of *Peloponese*, *Thucides* affirms, That there hapned such a prodigious Plague, that it resisted all Medicines; and was so general, that it came from *Ethiopia*, down into *Egypt* and *Lybia*, and so spread it self as far as *Persia*, so that the desolation of all *Greece* was the end of it. This Author, who was smitten by it himself, giveth a marvellous description of it, and saith, That the heat that men were in was so excessive, that those which were afflicted, precipitated themselves in Wells to cool themselves, and others sought for the nearest Rivers to quench their heat with their lives. In *Gal-lus's* time, such another Plague began in *Ethiopia*, which consumed all the people of the South, and went through most part of the World; and though *Cardanus* is of opinion,  
That

That the Plague cannot last above two or three years at most, because of the thinness of the Air which contains it, and of the Winds which by continual agitation remove it, yet it is certain that this lasted ten years, or very near. The Author of the Chronicle of *England*, saith, That in the Reign of *Calvaladras*, there was a Plague in this Kingdom which lasted eleven years, and represents it so horrible, that the living could hardly bury their dead. Three hundred and forty one years ago, thirty thousand men dyed of the Plague at *Cologne*, twelve thousand at *Treves*, sixteen thousand at *Maintz*, six thousand at *Wormes*, nine thousand at *Spire*, eleven or twelve thousand at *Strasburg*, fourteen thousand at *Bazil*, and an infinite number in other Towns of *Germany*. This Accident struck such a terror in the *Germans*, that the greatest part of them resolved to leave their Countrey rather than Till it; and this was the cause that half of those that were left by the Plague, dyed miserably by Famine, and the other half was in the same danger, had not the Barns of *Sicilia* been the relief of *Germany*, as it had been before of *Rome*. *Guy of Chauliac*, relates that he hath seen a Plague in his time that afflicted all the World, which having spread it self from *Euphrates*, to the frozen Seas, left upon the earth but the fourth part of those men which it found there. Then it was that

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Love and Charity was most cold; a son could see his father dye, without taking care to preserve his life; brothers and sisters fled from one another; like irreconcilable enemies; mothers abandoned their children, for fear to carry their deaths in saving of them; and though wives did regret their husbands absence, yet they feared nothing more than their presence: this Plague was the more remarkable, because of so many men that dyed, there was but a few that were rich; but two years after that, as the same Author saith, there was another which fell most upon them, and spared the poor. Of all those that I have mention'd, there was none so cruel, nor so dangerous, as that which lasted a year in the chief City of *Provence*, they all dyed when they thought to feed; they all expired at Table, having no time to go to Bed; and the number of those that dyed was such, that they could not be all buried in Church-yards, for want of room: the effects of this sickness were so sudden and certain, that those that were smitten with it, did wind themselves in a sheet to save others a labour, and often their lives were sooner at an end than their enterprise. I will not mention here that which hapned in *Maurice* the Emperors time, which altered men so, that they looked like Monsters; nor so many others which have afflicted *Rome*, *Constantinople*, *Paris*, and *London*;



*London*; which latter is so fresh in our memory, that it makes our hearts bleed still when we think of it. We will proceed to Conflagrations, and draw some light for our instruction from the Fire, whether it be Foreign or Domestick.

## C H A P. XVII.

## Of Fire.

**H***eraclitus* and *Hippassus* of *Metapontus*, maintained that Fire was the principle and the end of all things; but whether or no they owe their Being to it, yet we will prove by this discourse, that it hath been the destruction of most of them. In *Cerops* the first King of *Athen's* time, the influences of the heavenly Bodies did excite such a heat in the East, that after it had dried up all the Springs, warmed the Sea in such a manner, that it was thought to boil, and reduc'd a great many Towns into a few Ashes: In the Reign of *Achab*, King of *Israel*, the Air was so excessive hot, that for the space of Three years, there did not rain a drop throughout all *Palestina*. And in the time of *Constantine Capronimus*, as *Zonaras* relates, it was so burning hot, that it dried up Rivers it self. *Cardanus* speaks of another so violent heat, that in three days time kil-

killed most part of the Plants in *Lombardy*: But because this kind of Fire seems to be slowest, and less dangerous of all, that which is ordinarily the Subject of our fear and astonishment, shall be now that of our discourse. When *Cambyses*, King of *Persia*, sent his Army in *Lybia*, to enrich himself of the ornaments and treasures of *Jupiter Hammon's* Temple, the Heavens which could not suffer the criminal obedience of those sacrilegious persons, without hastening their punishment, was filled with Lightning and Thunder; and as if this chastisement had been ordain'd for an example to all other ambitious men, there were 50000 of these killed by the Tempest. At the time that the *French* were in Garison at *Milan*, a Thunderbolt fell upon a Tower, which they had made the Dock, and the effect was so prodigious, that half of the Castle was buried under the other, and there was scarce a place in the Town which did not feel the effect of this fatal Adventure. Such another Accident did much more surprize the Inhabitants of *Malines* in *Brabant* six years after; Thunder made such a combustion there, that they were of opinion that it would be the end of the World as well as of their Town. The water of the Trenches were dried up in a moment, the Gate called *Arene*, disappear'd with a flash of Lightning, and the walls which were near it, were hid.

hidden under their foundations, and the houses tumbling one upon another, left no passage for those who were of opinion, that to avoid peril, it were better to flee, than to wait for it. Ordinary Relations inform us, that the *West-Indies* is very subject to such combustions; and Experience hath evidently shewn, that *Italy* hath suffer'd more all alone, than all other Kingdoms together. The City of *Wormes*, as *Munster* affirms, hath been twice almost consum'd by two several Accidents: and 'tis upon its own Ashes that it stands to this day. Now that you may see that Fears have place amongst the greatest Calms, *Lyons* was burnt in the peace-fullest time that ever it enjoyed, and when its Citizens thought of nothing but of enjoying their felicities; there's no body ignorant that one night ravished from them, that which so many years labour had gotten together. *Seneca* writes, That there was never so dreadful a combustion, but that it left after it some matter for another; and he is of opinion, That Fire never destroys all, but leaves something for the Sword: but this Town, which was admired in *Gauls*, is not now to be found in it; and it was a less time in destroying, than I have been of relating it. *Dithmarus Bleskemiis*, saith that Island is as big again as *Sicilia*, that it is an hundred *Italian* miles in length, and that there is three hundred remarkable mountains  
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in it, one of which is call'd *Hecla*, and is of the North-side of the Isle: He affirms that this hath burnt for these many years, but it is not known what kind of Fire it is, nor what matter it burneth upon, and that it casteth out flames, and sometimes black ashes, with such a great quantity of stones, that the Air is obscured with it. When the weather is serene, and that there are some stones thrown in, they are thrown back again with a strange noise and fury, and there are seen about it several spectres a walking. This Author who was in the Island in the year 1563. tells us, That there was flames seen in the night near the mountain, that casted a light throughout all the Isle, and that an horrible Earthquake followed this light, which made more noise than a thousand Cannons shot off all at once. The Sea drew two miles back, and ever since that place hath been dry Land. He had the curiosity to go near it, but to say better, he was loth to disobey the Viceroy, who commanded him to go up to that Gulph, with a *Danish* man, and two of the Inhabitants of the Isle. He was four dayes a scaling the Mount, and saw the earth about it cover'd with black ashes, and pumice stones; but as his curiosity would have drawn him nearer the mouth of it, to see it better, there came forth such a noise, such a smoke and fire out of the earth, that he was almost overcome with  
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the smell of brimstone ; and whatsoever he could do to recover himself, yet he was sick for two Months, and the ablest Doctors judgment was, that nothing but Death could be the cure of his distemper.

In the time of *Titus's* Reign, there appeared upon Mount *Vesuvius* walking spectres of a monstrous bigness, and this adventure was followed by a great drought, and horrible Earthquakes which overthrow the top of Mountains. The Sea about *Naples* was extremely tossed by it, its waves brake with a dreadful roaring; and in the Elements, and the Heavens, nothing was seen but Prodiges. The Mountain which brake out afterwards, began at that very time to cast stones, which were like Rocks, and to vomit flames with such a thick smoke, that the Air was quite darkned, and the light of the Sun so weakned by it, that this was reckoned one of its Eclipses. Out of this Conflagration, there came forth such a quantity of Ashes, that they did not only kill Men, Beasts, Plants, Fishes, and Birds, but they covered two Cities besides. These Ashes flew over the Seas as far as *Africa*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, and were driven back to *Rome*, which occasion'd such a remarkable loss there, that it is thought it was with them that the Plague came, which laid all that City desolate. There hapned another misfortune there,  
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the Fire seized of many places, and burnt the Temples of *Jupiter Capitolin*, of *Isis*, of *Serapis*, and of *Neptune*. It consumed *Agripas's* Stews, the *Phantean*, which was the place where he mustered his Soldiers, the Library of *Augustus*, and *Balbus* and *Pompey's* Theatres. Many other Mountains vomit such a Fire as well as this, as Mount *Ætna*, *Strombol*, *Lipare*, and those which are in *Vulcan's* Isles, and in the *Orades* towards the North; and we have the description of some others, in the 24<sup>th</sup> Chapter of *Acosta's* History of the *Indies*, in the third Book, where he saith, That these *Volcano's* are Rocks which are higher than Mountains; that the top of them is flatter, and that there is in the middle of them a great hole quite through the Rock, that reacheth to the very bottom. There are some which do cast but a little smoke, and are not like those *Volcano's*, as that of *Arequipa*, which is of a marvellous height, so that a man is two dayes scaling it, and is almost all of sand. The *Volcano's* of *Mexica*, which is by the Town of *Anges*, is of so great a height, that one goeth up 90 miles round about it, before one can get on the top of it, and most commonly there cometh forth of it a Hurricane of smoke, with the same quickness of motion, as an Arrow shot out of a Bowe. The smoke cometh forth either when the Sun riseth, or when it sets;  
and

and that smoke is sometimes followed by a prodigious quantity of Ashes. In *Acosta's* time there had been no Fire seen there yet; but it was feared then that the Land which was about it, and was the best of all the Countrey, would be consum'd. It is thought that this *Volcanos* hath a correspondence with the Syerre of *Tlaxcala*, which is very near it; and that it causeth by this means the Lightnings and Thunder that are seen and heard, but with a fear that chills the blood of the most resolute, and the most stupid. Some *Spaniards* that have had the curiosity to scale it, have brought back again with them some Earth, or rather some Mineral of Sulphur. The *Volcanello's* of *Guatimalla* are much bigger and higher; and those that sail in the South-seas, discover them a great way off by their heighr, and by the quantity of Fire which they cast forth. In the year 1586. the Town of *Guatimalla* was almost all overthrown by an eruption. Six months before this *Volcanello* had continually cast forth a Lake of Fire, the earth that fell on both sides of it was turned into Ashes; and truly it is an hard matter to imagine how such an abundance could be drawn from its centre; for before it was known to cast out nothing but smoke, and sometimes a slender flame was perceiv'd. That which is by the City of Kings in *Quitto*, vomited such a number of Ashes, al-

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most at the same time, that it seemed to rain nothing else, and people had much ado to go along the streets, or to know one another, through the thickness thereof. There are some which never cast forth Fire, ashes nor smoke, but burn at the bottom with a clear flame, which never quenches when it is once kindled. Amongst those who have searched the cause of these *Volcanello's* Fire, some are of opinion, That they consume the Earth that's within them, and so hold, that when they have done, they cease, as a Fire ceases when it wants Fuel. They confirm their opinion by those Rocks and Mountains, from whence they dig burnt stones, which are very light, hard, and extreme good to build with. They maintain that those Mountains have burnt formerly, which are quencht for want of combustible matter. Yet this opinion is not very likely, since that those matters that are cast forth by those *Volcanello's*, are almost infinite, and could not be contained in the place from whence they are cast forth, if it were altogether; for there are some that never cease to throw out fire, smoke, and ashes: It is more probable that there are places that have power to attract hot exhalations, and to convert them into fire, as there are other which have the power to draw vapors, and to turn them into water; which causeth Springs and

Foun-



Fountains, which of necessity must keep running, so long as they attract the water which composeth and maintains them; it is just so with the *Volcanello's*, which after they have changed into fire and smoke, the exhalations which they have attracted, vomit other thick matter, which they alter into ashes, into pumice stones, or into such like. Now to make the thing more apparent, 'tis that out of them comes forth sometimes smoke, and another time fire, according as the matter they could attract and kindle; as Springs do not alwayes yield the same quantity of waters; since it is certain that in Summer Fountains are not so full as in Winter, and run big or small, according to their strength, and the subject that presents it self.

After this discourse of so many different Fires, there remains something to be said of Comets, not simply because that they presage the Evil to come, as *Cardan* hath it, but because they are the cause of it, as some others will have it; since they beget Droughts, and consequently Famine, that they are followed by the Plague, and other Sickness, as *Kepler* saith; and that even Earthquakes are the operations of the winds, which are excited to it by their influences: Can't a man aver with reason, that those monstrous Torches, which are never lighted but to our Ruine, are not so much the

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signs

signs as the Authors of it; and that they have alwayes been rather the Ministers, than the Messengers of them: so it was when the Ancients saw a Comet, which lasted 75 dayes, a little before the Wars of *Peloponese*; and another before they had so many losses in *Sicilia*. A terrible one preceded the defeat of the *Lacedemonians*, by the *Thebains*; and *Arius's* Heresie was also forerun, if not caused by one which was no less frightful. Others from time to time caused the destruction of *Thebes* and *Corinth*; that of *Rome*, by *Charles V.* the Factions of *Guelphus*, and of the *Gibelins*; the going of the *Goths* into *Italy*; the alteration of the *Roman Empire*; and all that which hapned under *Claudius*; the War of *Achaya*; the coming of the *Bulgarians* into *Thracia*; and the Civil Wars of *Cesar* and *Pompey*: But we have Treated long enough of the disorders of Nature, we must come from Cities and Elements, to Men, and manifest to the World, That Fortune is equally mixt with great Mens lives, as with those of low degree; and that its power is sovereign in Palaces, as well as in Cottages.

*The End of the First Book.*

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O F  
Misfortune.

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B O O K I I.

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Of Misfortunes to Kings, and other great  
Men, by Wars.

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C H A P. I.

Of *Minos King of Candia, and of Theseus King of Athens.*

**B**Y reason that the History of *Theseus's* Life is in some manner enveloped with that of *Minos*, it is necessary to make use of this last to introduce us to the former; and to shew by the same continued disgraces, that their Fortune hath had some

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resemblance. If Birth be the greatest of all advantages, it is certain that *Minos* possesseth the greatest of all Men; for he was son to *Jupiter*, King of *Crete*, and to *Europa*, *Agenor's* daughter, King of *Tyr*. Nature so marvellously seconded this gift of Fortune, that he was born so beautiful, that he was the admiration of all the earth; and as if she had resolved to make an achievement of perfection in this young Prince, she endued him with such a sharp and acute wit, that the beauty of his mind far excelled that of his body. There passed never a day in which he did not signalize himself by his great actions; his military were as glorious as his moral virtues; and to shew that he was as fortunate, as he was valiant; the Kingdoms both of *Candia* and *Athens*, became the first Conquest of his Arms. His felicity was not limited in his victories, he took to his Royal Consort *Pasiphae*, the King of *Rhodes's* daughter, by whom he had some children; but this Alliance, which left him nothing to desire, was afterwards the spring and head of all his confusion and despair. He sent his son *Androgeus* to exact the yearly Tribute which the *Athenians* paid him, who was betray'd in the *Attick* Countrey, and kill'd; and though this loss seemed the greatest of all those that could befall him, yet it is certain that the death of his son afflicted him less than the ill deportment

of his Queen. This abominable woman, whose name and crime ought to have been concealed by Historians, did not only defile his Bed by Adultery, but she also made choice of a Bull for her Lover, and made a Beast the object of her desires. Awhile after, a Monster was the fruit of this Love; and as if death had more terrifi'd her than her Conscience, she avoided the presence of her husband, for fear of his reproaches and punishment. These two Adventures were capable enough to persuade *Minos*, That the greatest Prosperities are not alwayes the most tranquil; and that the blackest Vipers are often found under the finest flowers: But if these occasioned grief and torment to him, that which followeth was the cause of his fall and despair.

*Theseus*, to whom virtue was hereditary, no sooner was sensible of his strength, but he resolved to make use of it; and as since that time, the heroick Actions of *Miltiade* made *Themistocle* restless, and that those of *Achilles*, and of *Heſtor*, exasperated *Alexander's* courage, and the victories of *Alexander* excited the Ambition of *Cesar*; this Prince likewise imitated *Hercules* toils, and followed close this famous original, and strived with all his power to be a lively representation of him. This noble desire brought him out of his mothers house, which was at that time at *Træzene*; and

though Pyrates would have been less dangerous to him than Robbers and Tyrants, yet these difficulties fortifi'd him in his first resolution, and peril was found a bait to his jealousy. This is the reason that he left *Æthra* his mother, *Pitheas* daughter, and took the way by Land to *Athens*, to go see his father, and strongly fancied that honour should be at least the recompence of his enterprize. And indeed he was no sooner come to *Epidores*, but he kill'd *Periphetes*, whose Club he carried away as the noblest booty he could get; and threw *Petioptantus* in the Sea: passing over the Straights of *Peloponese*, he punished *Phæa* the murderer at *Crommyon*; revenged many innocent miserable persons upon *Siron* at the entring of the Land of *Megare*; killed *Cercyon* under him, in the City *Elenfine*; and at last overcame *Danaïtes* at *Hermovia*. All these Actions were too glorious to be kept secret, Fame had spread them everywhere; and if *Theseus* had lookt upon himself with vanity, he would have need'd remedies to preserve him from dying, by Transports of joy and love to himself. Nevertheless he was not insensible, and this good success could not so much be forgotten by him, but that he went into *Athens* with the greatest satisfaction, knowing that he could not be received but with extraordinary acclamations and magnificence, and that his person should be

be honoured at least, because of his victories. He was received there at first like a stranger, and invited by *Ægea* his Father to a Banquet: but his astonishment was great, when he perceived himself in danger of his life, and that his Father was to be his murderer. To explain this Enigme, it is requisite to call *Plutarch* to our assistance, and seek the Truth in his History. *Ægea* not knowing whether he should have a child, consulted the Oracle of *Delphos*, where she that rendred the Oracle, forbade him ever to know a woman, except it was in *Athens*; but for all that he knew *Æthra*, to whom he commanded to give a Sword which he had hidden under a Rock, to him that should come of their Bed, and so to send him with that private mark to *Athens* to him. Till that time, *Theseus* thought himself *Neptune's* son; but his mother to undeceive him, discover'd his birth to him. And this is the reason that he was received like an unknown person, and that *Medea*, who had refugiated her self there since her banishment from *Corinth*, no sooner heard of his coming, but she persuaded *Ægea* that this man would crown his Exploits by the Conquest of *Athens*; and bred such a jealousy in the old King by her reasons, and by her craft, that he gave his consent to sacrifice *Theseus* to his suspicion; but at the beginning of the Feast, he had no sooner drawn his Sword, but

but his Father casting his eyes upon it, knew it, and caused the poyson that had been prepared for him, to be thrown away. Caresses succeeded immediatly his suspicions, and was not able to expresse himself to him for a long while, but by his embraces; and his affection appeared more by his extasies, than by his words. The Attendants, not to remain idle in this happy encounter, saluted him with a thousand different Applauses; no one lookt upon him without admiration, and every particular person grounded his felicity upon the strength of this young Prince. To manifest that his past successes were but essayes, that he could perform for the time to come greater Actions, and that they did with reason call him their Protector, he became the scourge of his Fathers Rebels, he killed the Bull of *Maraton*, which did much mischief in his Countrey, and with his earnest suit he was chosen to conduct to King *Minos* the seven young Men, and the seven Maids, which the *Athenians* paid in hostage every year. Here a lofty Captain of *Minos*, as dreadful by his Cruelty, as by his Fortune, could not see *Theseus* without trying his valor: but death was immediately the reward of the temerity of this barbarous man; and by this *Theseus* was the Liberator of those to whom he thought but to be Guide. At the same time he carried away with him King *Mi-*



nos's daughters, *Ariadna*, and *Phædra*; and because his ship had sustained a storm, and been tossed by foul weather, so that the first could no longer bear with the Sea, he was constrained by her intreaties to make to a small Island, till this young Princess had recover'd her health. He had no sooner landed with *Ariadna*, but returning to his ship, to get necessaries for his young Lover: he was presently tossed off the shore by a wave, and carried away by the rapidness of the weather, so that he lost all hopes of getting near the Island again. What just regrets came into *Theseus*'s mind, and what astonishment seized *Ariadna*? she immediately judged him unfaithful by his absence, she call'd upon all the gods for revenge of his Treason, and could not forbear wishing him whom she thought perjured to suffer shipwrack. After many unprofitable imprecations, she thinking that the gods nor *Theseus* did not hearken to her complaints, hanged her self in that despair, that some day this ungrateful, as she termed him, might see that she had been unhappy, but after his infidelity: *Theseus*, who all this while seemed to be the Author of her death, notwithstanding was no Accomplice of it, he loved her too infinitely to abandon her, but yet this unhappy Accident was the beginning of his Crosses. Besides this Affliction which cost him so many sighs and tears, the Mari-

Mariners having forgotten to hang out the white Flag as a token of his good success, had left the black, which ordinarily those that returned from *Candia*, were wont to hang out in sign of mourning; so that *Agea* making no doubt of the misfortune of his son, precipitated himself from the top of a Tower where he stood to see him come, not being willing to survive the most remarkable of all his losses. When *Theseus* was informed of this, with what imprecations did he not curse his Pilot? with what terms did he not call to the gods for justice, for their injustice? and with what an horror was he not seized, when he considered that he had abandoned his love, and caused his father to dye? Not to examine his misfortune that he had been unfaithful, though he never saw her again; he was a Parricide without being guilty, and one might say that he was innocently the cause of the death of both. After his friends had advised him to lose the memory of this Adventure, he assembled all the *Atticks* in a Body, went directly to the Countrey of the Amazons, and made *Antiope* his wife, after he had made her his Prisoner, helped *Jason* to conquer the Golden Fleece, foiled the *Centaures*, signalized his strength and courage against the *Thebains*, and against the wild Boar of *Calidonia*, and seldom carried his Arms in any place, but he carried with them  
terror

terror and obedience in the hearts of people: Having no more to do for himself, he resolv'd to do something for his friend *Pirithous*, and to be most serviceable to him in the design he had to steal *Proserpine*, daughter to *Ædonias*, King of the *Molossians*, he accompanied him in his journey. This man was no sooner aware of their enterprize, but caus'd *Pirithous* to be devoured by his Dog call'd *Cerberus*, and imprison'd *Theseus* in such an obscure Dungeon, that it might have been termed the Grave of the Living, and the Hell of all Transgressors. Though he had no hope to come out of it but by death, yet *Hercules* obtained his pardon, and so saved his life. *Theseus* was no sooner come forth, but he cast his eye towards *Athens*, he fancied that this injury would make a way to a better fortune, that rest should succeed his sufferings. But he found the contrary, for he saw that *Menestheus* had corrupted the *Athenians* by his flatteries, that he found Rebels where he had left Subjects: and that having employ'd all his industry to shew them the use of Arms, he had taught them the mean while to employ them against him. They had ill apprehensions of his several loves with *Ariadna*, *Æglea*, *Antiopa*, *Phædre* and *Anaxo*: they represented to themselves both *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, and that he had ravish'd their daughters,  
after

after he had cut the fathers Throat: They knew that he had married *Ajax's* mother, *Phærebea*, *Joppa*, *Iphicles's* daughter, and some others: but especially they could not forget his ravishment of fair *Helena*, whose brothers *Castor* and *Pollux* had sworn to revenge. At last as *Theseus* saw himself in danger amongst those who had erected to him so many Statues before, he retired to *Scyre*; but *Licodemus*, King of the Island, having led him upon an high Rock, threw him down headlong to gratifie *Menestheus*, or else to secure himself by the loss of such a potent man; and so made his death as ignominious, as his life had seemed glorious.

## C H A P.

## C H A P. II.

*Of Crætus King of Lidia, and Oeta King of Colcos.*

SOME Men have been of opinion, that it was impossible for just Men to act without fortune, what prudence soever they made use of, as for Souldiers to fight without their Arms; and 'tis to this purpose, that Sir *Francis Bacon* saith, that Riches are the same to Vertue, as the Cariage is to an Army: to fit these words to my Discourse, and to make use of the same comparison; as the baggage often hinders an Army from marching, and that the care Men take sometimes of it, is the loss of the Victory; so I affirm, that Riches do not always allow Vertue the power to act, and that in this case, a Mans ruine is caused ordinarily by his over-care of them; *Solomon*, to shew that they were not the matter it self, saith plainly, *That they are as a Tower of defence, in the imagination of the possessors of them*; and if we examine them rightly, we shall find that they have filled Men with perturbations, whose heart they could not fill with content, and that they have caused the loss of more Men, than ever they have secured. If *Cræsus* had not been so rich, he had doubtless been more happy.

py, and his ambition and miseries had not been so lamented. This King of *Idia*, considering the Mines of Gold which his Country was full of, fancied, that not wanting the sinews of War, so he could not want a good success, and proposed to himself the defeat of *Cyrus*, the Monarch of the *Medes*, of the *Assirians* and *Persians*. But all the Nobility of *Lydia* was cut in pieces, at the first encounter: *Cresus* was forced to fly to *Sardis*; and to acknowledge to his shame, that deliberations are in Mens power, but the advents in the power of fortune. *Cyrus* calling to mind that this King had assisted *Balthazar*, King of *Babylon* against him, and that he had been the first that had declared War against him, made a happy use of this Victory, and having Besieged him in *Sardis*, pressed him so hard, that *Cresus* found himself his Captive, almost at the same time that he was become his enemy: he was laid in a straight Prison laden with chains, his Son and him, was used like a Tirant, and spoiled of his Dignities and Kingdom, *Cyrus* vengeance went yet farther, apprehending that the *Lydians*, who he had made new Subjects, would make the Imprisonment of their King a pretext of Rebellion, and that's the reason that he sent one of his Souldiers, as *Herodotus* relates, to secure himself by the death of that King; of his possessions and hopes; the Souldier had no sooner

sooner lifted up his Sword, to cut off *Cræsus* Head, but his Son that never spoke before, cryed out, *O Persian do not slay my Father, for he is King of Lydia*; and so the Souldier forbore his blow, being surpris'd that the horror of his action had untied the tongue of a dumb Man, and that love had done in him more then nature could. *Cyrus* taking this prodigie for an ill omen to himself, caused a great fire to be made, that he might see his enemy consumed before his face, and so commanded him to be thrown into it, to take away all suspicion of his ambition, when he should see his ashes; but by a Miracle no less admirable then the first, a shower of rain quenched all the flames, so that *Cræsus* trod upon the coals with as little hurt, as if he had trod upon flowers: *Carion* relates this history otherwise; he saith that *Cræsus* cryed out, *Solon, Solon*, as soon as he saw that dreadful fire, and *Cyrus* hearing him, asked him why he did not rather call upon the gods for assistance, then upon a Philosopher. One day I shewed my Dominions, and all my treasures, answered *Cræsus*, to this *Athenian*, and asked him, if all his morals which taught him in what felicity consists, could find any that was greater and more apparent then mine; but he answered me, that one could not judge the happiness of a Man, but after his death, and calling him to mind, I

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acknowledge that that which flattered me, bath been my destruction, and that I ought to have trembled at that which I trusted in, and that I have my chief good in that which hath ruined me. *Cyrus* was so earnestly touched by those words, that he fearing such a disgrace might follow his prosperities, would not suffer him to dye by a death, which another might inflict upon himself; however, though he did not loose his life, yet he lost his riches; his sorrows neither restored to him his treasures, nor his Crown, and no other Companion ever since, but his resentment and his shadow; and fortune which preserved him from death, did not preserve him from servitude. *Oetha* King of *Colcos*, was as *Cresus*, the richest in his time, and hence the Poets affirmed, that the Golden Fleece was in his Island, and we shall find that it was the subject of his despair, as well as of his pride. *Paul Arise* writes, that *Peleus*, King of *Peloponess*, or *Thesalia*, as *Bocass* relates having no Children, looked upon his Kinsman *Jason*, as his best and lawfulest Successor, and set all his inclinations upon him, as this Man set all his upon Virtue. But as *Sir Francis Bacon* saith, that suspicions disposeth Kings to Cruelty, Husbands to Jealousie, and the Discreetest to Inconstancy; those of *Peleus*, changed in length of time his good nature, and caused him to interpret so ill the  
finest



finest actions of *Jason*, that he became perswaded, that it was by them he aspired to tyranny. It would have been a small matter, if he alone had been troubled, for he might have dissipated those chimerals; of which he was the architect, and with as little trouble would have suppressed his enemies as fast, as he himself raised them. But his suspicions were helped on, by the policy of his flatterers; and because that those which are Created by a Mans self, are but like certain humming Bees, which sting not; and that those which are entertained by false accusations, have always their sting at the end, he found himself in such a deep inquietude, that he began to look upon his Nephew, as the enemy of his rest and his life. Nevertheless, because his fears should be perceived by him, he proposeth to him to go to *Colcos*; assured him, there was no danger, but he might overcome by his courage; and so represents his passage over the sea, so easy, that he doth not know which will be sweeter to him, the Tempest or the Calm. *Jason*, whose blind ambition could not be moderated, either by difficulties or by counsel, giveth ear to his Uncle with joy, represents to himself the Golden Fleece; and looks upon it but as upon his own; and fancied that he had already vanquished them, which he was going to encounter. *Peleus* made use of this

young Prince's *Credulouſneſs*, gave orders for his Equipage, and made him arms worthy of his great reſolution and birth, and ſent him away with all the Nobility of *Greece*. Though he diſpaired of the enterpriſe, and thought to take his laſt farewell of him, yet *Jaſon* did not come ſhort of his hopes, he overcame all obſtacles that oppoſed his Forces, and both his Ships and his Glory found a paſſage where ever they came. When he was at *Colcos*, *Medea* *Oetas* Daughter, had no ſooner ſeen the pleaſing countenance of this young Conqueror, but ſhe was touched with it, her heart yielded at the firſt ſight of that ſecret enemy of hers, and her reaſon was not ſtrong enough to overcome all his graces; her careſſes ſucceeded her paſſion; till he found himſelf obliged to give her ſome returns of Love, ſhe always ſtrived to ſerve him, and to inter him, and to forget nothing that could perſwade him that ſhe loved him more then her own Father, and that love was ſtronger in her then natural affections. *Jaſon*, to be certain of it, deſired her to find out a way to betray the guards of her Fathers Treasures; aſſured her, that ſhe ſhould ſhare with him in his good fortunes; he found her ſo inclined to his will, that ſhe forgot all fears and reſpects, to ſhow him, that ſhe would be mindful of her promiſe. Neither did ſhe betray *Jaſon's* hopes, but her cruelty

cruelty went so far, that she killed *Oetas* grand-son *Egrallus*, whose limbs she scattered in the way she thought he would pursue her, that so the care he should have of gathering them, might distract him from his pursuit, whilst she should avoid his punishment by her flight; in effect, the pity he took of the Child, stopped the vengeance he had prepared for the Mother, he took up with horror those bloody reliques, and thought that the justice of the gods, was too much offended with this unparralleld Murder, not to revenge the authors and the accomplices of it. It is certain, that *Oetas* resentment was extreme sensible, and that Philosophy afforded him no remedy for his grief; but if he was unhappy in his Children, he was no less in his own person; and never King at diversity of time was more Magestic, and more to be commiserated; his Neighbors finding him harder put to it to maintain his ground then to pursue them; executed with facility, that which before they had undertaken but with shame; took away from him all hopes, spoiled him of his Kingdom, and forced him to lead a life, which could no otherwise be termed, but a long death. Therefore it is not without reason, that *Pausanias* in *Philostratus* speaks of Fortune, which held *Pluto* the god of Riches in her arms, to shew us, that those that possess them, are Subjects to her, and

to put us in mind, that we should not make any other use of them, than *Rabirius Posthumus*, which *Cicero* praiseth so worthily, as having not pursued them as a prey to his avarice, but as an instrument to his vertue and goodness.

### CH A P. III.

*Of some other Kings which have been deposed from their Crowns.*

**T**HE Ancients have given us a Rose for the Emblem of beauty, because its colour fades, as soon as it is blown. The Moon because of its changes, and glass because of its brittleness, and many other such things, to shew us that those things which touch most our sight, ought not to touch our Souls, and that the best of them causeth our pittie, as well as our admiration and envy. Those that will but examine narrowly our conditions, will find that nature hath always been the same in all Men, that they are distinguished but by qualities and titles; that death makes them all equals, and that in which their grandeur is seen, often casteth them into miseries; in effect, we often see, that Fortune is so fickle to Kings, that the Man that found a Crown, had reason to say; *O much more glorious then thou art*

art fortunate, if it could be known what misfortunes thou bringst upon Men, whose ambition and courage are excited by thy glittering luster; there is no Man that would take thee up from the ground. Who would ever have thought, considering *Evagoras* and *These*, the one King of *Cyprus*, and the other of *Egypt*, that fate should have reduced them to suffer their common Enemy upon their Thrones; and to make unprofitable wishes for their liberty. Notwithstanding, *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, calling to mind that they had assisted the *Lacedemonians* against him, went to War with them with so good success, and so much obstinacy, that he forced the one to live as the meanest of his Servants, and the other to flye to the *Arabians* Country, where his exile and his poverty lasted as long as his life. Although *Ariba* was nearly related to Queen *Olympias*, and that he was King of the *Epirotes*, *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, took all away from him, even to his very hopes, which is the last thing that an unfortunate Man can loose; and made him sufficiently acknowledg, that in the prosperities of Fortune, the mind ought to arm itself against the injuries of it. *Perseus* having gotten the Crown of *Macedonia* by an homicide, had afterwards all the power of the *Romans* against him; but as he had already vanquished two of their Consuls; besides the

advantage of the situation of the place, where he stood, he was of opinion, that he should also Triumph over *Paul Æmilius*, and that he should sustain that with glory, which he acquired by a crime. Howsoever, his enterprises succeeded another way, he was forced to flye from the City *Pydné*, and that of *Pellai*, and at last to *Samothrace*, whereof *Cnejus Octavius*, *Paul Æmilius* his Lieutenant, pressed him in such sort, that he was forced to yield, and forced to confess openly, that Misfortunes were not so much casualties, as the essential part of Mens lives. *Paul Æmilius* could not behold his disgrace without tears; but when he saw him prostrate himself at his feet, with the meanness of a Subject, he beheld him with indignation, and changed his love into hatred, and his mercy into vengeance: Thou shewest, said he, by thy shameful submission, that thy disgrace is rather the effect of thy weakness, then of thy ill fortune. In whatsoever Enemy magnanimity is found, it is always respected by the *Romans*, but though Cowardise is sometimes fortunate, it is despised by all Men; and thou makest me to doubt, which of the two hath most contributed to my Victory, my courage, or thy low spirit; go thy way, since thou art not worthy of the Title of King, thou art unworthy of a Consuls love. Whosoever is a Coward, ought to have

no hopes, and whosoever acts like a Slave, deserveth to be so; This opinion was so strong in *Paul Æmilius*, that he made him follow his Charriot of Triumph like a Captive; the same hands that had borne a Scepter, bore Chains by his order; and this unfortunate Man was exiled in *Albania*, as if the *Romans* could not have suffered a Prince, which they had vanquished without glory, because they had vanquished him without danger. And that which is most deplorable, is, That two Children, who were not guilty of their Fathers Vice, yet had part in his confusion and fall; the one practised the Trade of a Goldsmith at *Rome*, the other, that of a Blacksmith, in *Cicilia*, to have at least a support for their lives. At that same time, *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, who had sided with him, had the same lowness, and the same disgrace, he kneeled on the ground before *Anitius*, thinking to obtain more by his submission, then by his ambition; but *Anitius*, who could not suffer the timorousness of a Woman, in a Man of that Dignity, cast him into Prison immediately, and left him no other Consolation, but the memory he had, that he had been happy once. *Demetrius*, who with his Fathers old Souldiers, had Conquered the Kingdom of *Macedones*, did his endeavor to secure himself against the Forces of *Lisimachus*; but because he had killed, by Treason, *Alex-*

*Alexander*, *Cassanders* Son, and that this blood unjustly spilt, cryed for vengeance, against this wicked Politick; he acknowledged, (but too late) that his Ambition had been the cause, both of his Greatness and his Destruction, and that his Crime, which had been the cause of his Joy, was become that of his Misfortunes, having not been able to overcome his Enemy by his Courage, he strived to do it by his Misery; after his defeat humbled himself before him, as if he would have put him in the mind, that the same disgrace might happen to him, and that there is often but one step, between Authority and Servitude: but *Lisimachus*, in lieu of being touched with his repentance and prayers, had him bound with great Chains, and confined him to an eternal prison, for his Palace and for his punishment. *Penestus* and *Amyntas*, who having been Gards to *Alexander* the Great, were become his Successors, one in *Babylon*, and t'other in *Bactria*, did not long, keep themselves in the Conquests of their Master, and had scarcely time to tast their felicity, because that *Seleucus* made War with them, that only ceased, by the taking from them their two Provinces. After the *Lacedemonians* had suffered without murmuring, the Tyranny of *Alchimeus*, they did what lay in their power, to tame this Monster, which they had exalted but to their own Ruines; they gave him as much respect



respect and veneration, as if he had been their legitimate King, and shewed him, that nothing equalized his Cruelty, but their Patience: Being not willing to make use of Poison against his person, they made use of their old Priviledges against his Maxims, but when they saw, that neither the fear of the gods, nor the consideration of the Laws, had any power over him, they were forced to depose him, and to choose *Agessipolis*, to be arbitrator of their lives and liberties. *Alchimene*, did not loose his courage, though he had lost this Kingdome; this new disorder gave him new hopes, and perswaded him that he could as well remedy as suffer his misfortune; and for all the violences which he practised against the Commonalty, he gained the Nobility to him by flatteries, returned to *Sparta*, made all his adversaries tributary to him, and shewed them that his absence and presence were both alike to be feared. By this means he got upon the Throne, banished the unfortunate *Agessipolis*, and constrained him to live in so great poverty, that he could as hardly satisfie his hunger, as he could his toothsomness before. When the *Romans* were finishing the Conquest of the *Asiaticks*, *Origiagotes*, King of the *Cabolenians*, and *Gandates* King of the *Coloscobogians*, in *Bithiny*, opposed generously *Manlius's* enterprize, and took the field together by a common interest, to let him understand, that

that they had rather sell their liberty, then to give it away willingly. Never Vertue was more heroick then theirs, and never did any resolution appear to them more glorious and just. They lookt upon subjection to be the greatest of all evils, and independency the greatest of felicities; they perswaded themselves that Subjects and Slaves were both the same thing, and that it was better to dye then to obey. Although they shewed their generosity in this Battle, the Victory declared it self on the Consul's side: these two Kings were made his Prisoners, and died miserably in Chains. After *Antiochus* death, the Dukes of *Achaya* and *Messania*, who of a long time disputed together the Sovereignty, saw themselves forced to decide their differences by Arms, and to abandon their cause to the Caprices of Fortune. The Duke of the *Achayans*, *Philomenus*, did appear the valiantest, but not the most fortunate; for being fallen off of his Horse, he neither had time to recover himself, nor his Souldiers to whom this fall seemed to be theirs. The *Messanians* ran immediately upon him to kill him: but the Majesty of his looks withheld their hands, and suspended for that time their resentments and vengeance; those whose fury was not satisfied by slaughter, took him, and treated him without respect: they made him go about their  
Town,

Town, in the greatest confusion in the World, and made a spectacle of him for a long time, in a publick place, that so the people might see Rebellion chained fast, and that every Man might look upon him with scorn and derision, whom they could not look upon before, without fear and reverence. From that place he was carried to an obscure Prison, and as if they had been afraid of him, for all his Bonds, they made use of poison to make him away, and found still after his death, that his valor was living in his face. Two Princes of the *Æquoissians*, *Graccus*, and *Cinelius*, suffered the same punishment and confusion under two Consuls; the first died in Prison, and the other being perswaded that life, howsoever miserable it is, is yet sweeter than an horrible death, became servant to him to whom he had been an ornament in his Triumph. Hath not *Syphax* been vanquished so by the *Romans*, in the behalf of *Massinissa*? his Wife imprisoned, and this Prince of *Numidie* made Captive, and so confounded, by a change so unexpected, that he had been longer in misery, if the sorrow that killed him, had not sooner set him at liberty than his Enemies; and if the fear that he had to wear out his Chains, had not broken them? After the *Romans* had no more designs nor conquests to make, and that their Empire was become that of all the earth; they

they imagined that there was not so much glory to keep things in ones possession, as to acquire them, and that rest ought to be at least, the fruit of their labors. This opinion, that bred in them slothfulness, awaked most part of the Nations afar off, and was so advantageous to some, that it gave them time and courage to undertake all things for their liberty. The *Goths*, under *Alaricks* Reign, were the first that ransackt all *Italy*, in the time of the Emperor *Zenon*, and made the rich *Severus* Captive, who in his disgrace could never find either Remedy or Consolation. *Didier*, who was amongst Christian Kings, the same thing that the Sun is amongst the Stars, and who by his Magnificence, had made himself as many Friends, as he had Neighbors; and *Alyas* did not believe, that Fortune could bring any alteration in his Dominions, and that her power which ordinarily casteth down, but those things which are before half ruined, could shake those which stood the fastest; for all that, *Charlemain* had no sooner marched his Forces in *Lombardy*, into the behalf of the *Roman* Church, but he defeated him, and made him flye to *Apaula*, with his Wife and Children, and there to expect how Heaven would dispose of their lives, and his own. *Charlemaine* besieged him, without giving him time to consider of it; took him by Famine,

mine, and confined him to a long Imprisonment, from which he was brought forth to be carried into the Grave. Not long before this, *Chilperic* the third of that name, was reduced by *Pepin*, to dye in a Monastery; and as his Idleness had been the cause of his disaster, the same fault, joined with the Treason of *Anselm*, Bishop of *Laon*, was the misfortune of *Charles Duke of Lorrain*, that *Hugh Capet* was laden with Iron when he was ready to take possession of the Kingdom, which fell to him by the death of his brother. *Salomon*, King of *Hungaria*, whose tenderness made him pass for a woman, and who seem'd, in effect, to have been a Prince, but by the title of it, fled into *Istria*, having not had courage enough to stay for a Combat with his Nephew *Ladislaus*, and dyed unhappy, by the opinion he had that all was lost that was ventured; and that it was alwayes the best way to avoid danger, rather than seek it. *Guy* of *Lucignan*, last Christian King of *Jerusalem*, was beaten away by the Arms of *Saladin*, out of this goodly Kingdom, which had been conquered under the conduct of *Godfrey of Bouillon*, and reduced to the necessity of retiring into the Isle of *Cyprus*, by the favor of *Richard* King of *England*, there to lament till death, a loss after which he had no thought to live. *Lewis*, King of *Jerusalem*, expelled another  
King

King of *Cicilia* of his own name, and pursued him with so much outrage, that he was forced to beg of him a small place of his own Countrey to dwell in; his Misfortune being so great, that it constrain'd him to receive Laws in the same place where he imposed them before, and to be Vassal to those whom he had been Sovereign to. *David* King of *Scotland*, was kept eleven years in Prison; and if *Philip* of *Valois* had not taken Arms for his liberty, against the *English*, we may not doubt but he would have dyed in servitude, and that his shame and his dayes would have had the same period. But this discourse of servitude is too long, we must pass from Grief, to Death: And since I have shew'd you some Kings in Prison, I will also shew you some a dying; that you may see that Fortune is no less ingenious in bringing Murthers about, than it is in forging of Chains.

## C H A P. IV.

Of Charles I. King of England.

**T**HE Rebellious Faction of *England*, to authorize an attempt without example, maintain'd by a publick Declaration, *That Royalty was but an Office.* And that they might the better proceed against the King, they supposed Taxes rais'd, Rights established, unjust Imprisonments, secret Leagues, suspected Parties, interested Friendships, Priviledges violated, cruel Wars, and the last effects of Tyranny. But my intention is not to refute those suppositions which have no proof; I will onely send them to *Solomon*, who thinks that he cannot give his Son better counsel, than to fear God and the King; and to the Apostle *St. Paul*, who will have all Men to obey Principalities and Powers: and who affirms, That there is no Power but what is establish'd of God; and that those that resist Principality, resist the Ordinance of God, and bring their condemnation upon themselves. When *David* had such a fair opportunity to rid himself of *Saul*, who persecuted him; for all he had the promise of the Kingdom; and that his Men represented to him, that he might kill his Enemy without danger: *It shall not happen to me*, said he, *to lay my*  
M hand

hand upon my Lord, the Lords Anointed, nor to commit such a crime against him. David gave his reason for it afterwards in another occasion, when he found Saul asleep in the Trenches, and Abishai desired him to permit that he might smite him with his Halbard: No, said he, take heed thou dost not do it, for woe can be innocent, and stretch his hand against the Lords Anointed. It is not needful to go so high as Scripture to condemn these Parricides, it is sufficient only to read an Act of the House of Commons of the 13th of January 1641. when they had notice that the King intended to apprehend some of them, these are the words of it:

If any one, of what quality soever, goeth about to arrest any Members of this House, without the Orders of the said House, or without giving it notice thereof; It is lawful for the Party arrested to defend himself, and to resist, by the Oath he hath taken, to maintain the Privileges of Parliament, and to all others to assist him, and to rescue him.

The Declaration of the 17th of January in the same year, is no less formal, for it bears, That it is to oppose the Liberty of Subjects, violate the Privileges of Parliament, and to declare himself Enemy of the State, to arrest any Member of Parliament, from whomsoever the Order cometh, without the Authority of the House of which he is a Member, and his, surety or hostages shall be



To maintain these Priviledges, the pretend-  
ed Parliament raised Guards, and afterwards  
an Army, made use of it against the King; and  
the War grew so hot, that it divided the in-  
terest of all the Families of this Countrey.  
There were Sieges, Combats, bloody Battels,  
where the King did the office of a Soldier and  
Commander; and never was Authority more  
persecuted, nor Rebellion more obstinate. But  
you must not look here for the full Relation  
of this War, nor description of the King, for  
it would fill a great Volume. I will only re-  
late that which was most terrible, and the stran-  
gest Blow that ever He could receive by For-  
tune. After some time imprisonment, he was  
brought up to *London* by *Fairfax*, General of  
the Parliaments Army, and forced to appear  
before His Enemies and Subjects, at the Bar, to  
justifie Himself of the Crimes that they laid to  
His charge. The King asked them, *Whence*  
*they had their Authority, to constrain a Prince to*  
*answer for His life as a Criminal before His own*  
*People.* He told them, *That He was not subject*  
*to any Temporal Jurisdiction; and that He could*  
*not answer of his actions but before God.* He  
persisted constantly in that truth, which no man  
could deny; shew'd them that the Assembly of  
Parliament was imperfect; that the House of  
Commons was Tyrannous; and that it had  
excluded the House of Lords, and the Cler-

gy. Whatsoever He could say to open their eyes, and to enlighten their minds, after His Indictment had been read several times, the King being not willing to answer to it, this Sentence was pronounced upon Him:

Charles Stuart, *heretofore King of England, shall have his Head severed from his Body, as a Publick Enemy, as a Murtherer, as a Tyrant, and as a Traitor.*

After some demands of the King to no effect, He obtained the liberty only to see His two Children, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess Elizabeth; and to converse in private with the Bishop of London, for the strengthening of His Soul, and the quietness of His Conscience. He had both Sunday and Monday for to prepare Himself, and on Tuesday was brought from St. James's to Whitehall, through the Park, where all the Foot were in Battalia. From the Gallery of Whitehall, He came through His own Bed-chamber, into the Court, where all Men were in Arms, and from thence He mounted a Scaffold hanged with black, where there was four iron Rings at the four corners, an Axe on one side, and a Block on the other. They went about to make the King fast to the Rings, but He would not suffer it; and told them, *That it was not needful to bind a King, who dyed without resistance.* At the same time appeared two Men in Vizards, as if

the horror of this Action had imposed upon them the necessity of masking themselves to commit it, and should have forbidden them to be seen with Mens faces in an attempt which made them unworthy of the name. After the King had made a short Speech, he turned to these Executioners, who came near to cut off His Hair, but He pull'd out a Night-cap which He had brought for that purpose, and put it up: After He had done, he pull'd off the Col-ler of the Order, which He gave to the Bishop of *London*, and pull'd a Ring off of His Finger, to be sent, as 'tis thought, to the Prince of *Wales*. He laid His Neck upon the Block, after He had kneeled down; and He had no sooner given the Signal to the Executioner, but His Head was struck off from His Body, and that they both disappeared; a Soldier stuck the Head upon a Partisan, and the People cryed all about, *Liberty, Liberty*: and made of this day of mourning, a day of rejoycing. Reader, if thou dost not tremble with horror, thou art not a Man; and if thou dost not lament such a Fortune, thou dost not deserve to have a good one wished thee.

## C H A P. V.

*Of Kings and Princes which have been killed in Battels; and of those who have been used by their Enemies with much Insolence and Cruelty.*

**A**S for that which regards Counsel, it is convenient to examine Perils: but as for that which regards Execution, it is not good to look upon any, saith Sir Francis Bacon; grounded may be upon that Maxim, That Prudence is represented with a Looking-glass in her hand, to consider all things in it, and that Boldness is blind. 'Tis to this purpose that Encepidus saith, That the counsel of one Man is able to overcome a whole Army. And we may say after him, That it is far better to foresee danger, than to run in it; and that those deserve to fall in it, that seek it, or wait for it. Without that presumptuous confidence, who would ever have thought that Cyrus should have been vanquished by Thomiris? That Fabius at the cost of Hannibal, should have preserved the Republick? And that Crassus should have been ruined by Surena King of the Parthes? That Victory should have declared it self for those who seemed to despair of it? And that others, who had rea-

son to wish for Battel, should have lost it? Nevertheless whatsoever foresight and courage great Men have had in their conduct and enterprizes, the event hath often confounded their judgment and their hopes, and their policy hath been of little use against the blows of Fortune. Prudence and Temerity have cause a-like to praise her, and find fault with her: she hath made them her enemies, after she hath obliged them both; and hath caused them some confusion, after she had caused them some glory. *Leonatus*, who was one of the 36 Governors who divided *Alexander's* Empire in so many pieces after his death, had given marks everywhere of his valor: every man in *Phrygia* admired his spirit and resolution, and discover'd in him all the accomplishments of a Commander and Philosopher. He was of a turbulent humor; and because he knew that every virtue had its time, he did not think that wisdom and courage could subsist together; nor that a man should be judicious, where boldness was required. Nevertheless after his first motion was over, he hearkned to Reason, and seemed to undertake nothing but what he could execute. Notwithstanding being gone to *Antipater's* aid, he gave Battel to his Enemy, and lost his reputation there with his life. *Neoptolemus* had the same disadvantage, when he fought against *Eumenes*; *Lysimachus*

*machus* had no better success against *Seleucus*, who kill'd him upon the place, with most of his Soldiers; and this last, some time after, received the same disgrace by the Arms of *Pto-lomey*. The last King of the *Visigots*, *Alaric*, had such a misfortune. When he attempted to sustain the furious Attack of the *French* in *Aquitaine*; all his hopes were ruined with his Forces, and *Clovis* slew this barbarous man with his own hand. Though *Totilla* had signalized himself by his victories that he had taken *Rome* twice, and twice plundered it, and had been feared and happy everywhere; yet an Eunuch, call'd *Narsetes*, who it should seem was fitter to be a womans Guardian, than to be a Commander of Men of War, kill'd him in the Battel, foiled all his Army, and did such good service to the Emperor *Justinian*, that if a man would but have visited the Tombs, he might have been persuaded that he left no *Goths* in *Italy*. *Nicephorus*, who put the Empress *Treuna* in a Nunnery, that he might obtain the Empire of *Constantinople*, was kill'd on that manner by the *Bulgarians*; and *Baudwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, after he had retaken all the Cities and Towns that this Empire had lost, except the City of *Andrianople*, was used in the same manner in his own Countrey, where his valor made him hope all the advantages, and all the honours that he could promise himself from his birth. But we  
must

must not find it strange to see those die in dangers, which glory seemed to impose a necessity to live: We must still go further, and shew that great men are liable to the same Misfortunes that the lowest sort of men are; that Scaffolds have been raised upon Thrones; and that Kings have had Executioners, as well as Malefactors. *Justinian* the Second, last Emperor of the House of *Heraclius*, having declared War against the *Bulgarians*, and *Arabes*, against the Treaties of Peace which he had concluded with them before, was unhappy in both; and as his irresolutions and perfidy had made him odious everywhere, he was expelled the Empire, by the contrivances of the Patriarch *Callinicus*, and *Patricia Leonca*, who cut off his Nose, before they laid him fast in *Chersonese's* Castle. This man, who wore the marks of his ruine in his face, as well as the characters of his vices, made the King of the *Bulgarians* his Protector, and turned his humor with so much policy, that by this means he compelled *Leonca* his Successor to abandon the command of the Empire, and put out *Callinicus's* eyes, and so cloathed himself in the same purple which he had dyed with the finest blood of his own people. He was so cruel, that he never sneezed, but he commanded some of them who had favoured *Leonca*, to be executed, and got such a hatred amongst those that feared him

being  
be:

before, that his person was no less detested, than his Tyranny. At last this barbarous man having made all his Subjects his Enemies, was excluded the second time out of the Empire, by *Philippicus Bardanus*, in the 16th year of his Reign, which he made no otherwise remarkable, but by a continued course of unheard Cruelties; and the memory of him was so abhorred after his death, that he seemed to live still amongst the most illustrious Families, by his Murthers; and in Temples, by his Sacrileges. Neither was there ever a Prince who received less Favors from Nature, than this *Bardanus*; and never man had less Religion, nor less Wit. He was no sooner in possession of the Sovereignty, but he strived to abolish the Decrees of the sixth General Council, to satisfy a Monk, whose Opinions were as so many Heresies; and to recompence him for the hopes he had given him, that he should attain to the Empire of *Constantinople*. But because he promised much, and performed much more by gifts, so that he emptied his treasures in things of little purpose, or altogether useless; and suffering with patience and cowardice, the *Bulgarians* to possess themselves of the Frontiers of *Thracia*, he had his Eyes put out, and dyed in an Exile, which he might well expect from his Folly and Sloth. *Diogenes* had no sooner got a victory over the *Barbarians*, but he gained



gained the Empress *Endoxes* heart, so that he was thought worthy to have a part in her Bed, and in her Throne, and to sustain Domestick Concerns, which were in continual troubles by Foreign Wars. But this *Roman*, who was born to subjection, and who had nothing great but his ambition and courage, became so intolerable, that the *Romans* perceived (but too late for them) of what an importance it was to put the Scepter in servile hands, and to obey a man, who made his Authority the cause and excuse of his Insolence. The first success that he had against those who ravaged the Provinces of *Asia*, were divers; but his second War was unfortunate, all his Army was cut in pieces, or put to the flight, and him taken Prisoner, which was never heard of any other Emperor; his Enemies carried him away, with a joy so much the greater, when they considered, that they had nothing more to do after this Prize, but to rest of their toils. *Asan*, Prince of the *Turks*, had much ado to moderate his joyes that he received by this excess of happiness; and to persuade him the truth of it, they brought *Diogenes* before him, and as soon as he saw him, he used him before his Soldiers with so much magnificence and civility. that *Diogenes* was forced to confess, That no man could lose a Battel with more success than himself; and that the greatest adversities were not always

wayes the most grievous. Besides this courtesie (that had nothing of a *Barbarian* in it) he filled him with Presents, made Peace with him, and gave him his Liberty; but *Diogenes* astonishment was not little: when he came to *Rome*, and saw that his defeat had been the cause of the Empresses banishment, and had raised *Michael*, *Constantine's* son, to the Government, wrath and despair excited his vengeance, and made him have recourse to Arms; but he had hardly begun his enterprize, but he was constrained to compound, and suffer to have his eyes pull'd out as well as others, of which he dyed some time after: so that he lost almost at the same time the Victory, the Empire, his Sight, and his Life. *Alexis* the second, who was but a Youth when he took the Scepter upon him after his Fathers death, endeavored with all his Might, to smother the Civil Seditions of the Empire, and was at last forced, as a man may say, to divide his power, to unite it, and to admit in it *Andronicus*, the son of *Isaac Comnenus*, the most crafty and subtle of the Rebels that he had to subdue. This Traitor, whose Perfidy was known at *Constantinople* as soon as his Person, began then to awaken his Ambition, went about to gain the greatest by his gifts, and by his promises, had no other object than the Throne before his eyes, and never considered whether the safest way

way to ascend to it, was the most just, or most horrible. 'Twas in this sentiment, that of Tutor to the Prince, he became his Murtherer; he caused his Head to be cut off, and commanded that his Body should be thrown in the Sea, as if his Felicity had made him unworthy of Obsequies. This Crime was not long unpunisht, as every one looked upon it with horror, and that he was troubled about the opposing of *William* King of *Sicily's* Forces, *Isaac* took away the Empire from him, caused one of his hands to be cut off, and one of his eyes to be pull'd out; and forcing him to ride about the Town, he expos'd him thus to the derision and rage of his people. *Greece* hath not seen alone those enormities. *Berangarius*, after he vanquisht *Lewis*, the Emperor *Arnol's* son, pull'd out his eyes, and *Charlemaine* having served *Peter*, King of *Hungaria*, so, caused him to dye, to satisfie his diffidence or his hate. In the time of *Claudius* the fourth, Emperor of *Rome*, *Gotarsus* had no sooner taken *Melindatus*, Prince of the *Partbes*, but he caused his ears to be cut off; and if we will but search Histories, we shall find that the dignity of *Robert Surantin*, Prince of *Tarente*, and of *William* son to *Tancredus*, King of *Sicily*, made their Fortune neither more glorious, nor happier.

Amongst

Amongst those who have sung the praises of the great *Constantine*, one may find that he hath not so much punished the guilty, as he hath revenged the innocents cause; that he chastised, rather than fought against the wicked; and that his piety was no way inferior to his military virtues: nevertheless he hath defamed his Reign by the death of two Kings, *Asparis*, and *Rbegachus*, whom he caused to be devoured by wild Beasts in the open view of the people. A great while before this, *Farnus*, King of the *Medes*, was crucified by *Ninus*; *Plancus* a Proconsul, cut off *Vitellius's* head Prince of the *Privesiens*, and Neighbor to the *Sannites*; *Cossus* put to the same death *Hattur*, King of *Cologne*, for having attempted to shew that he was generous enough to defend his liberty. In the War of the *Romans*, and the *Carthaginians*, *Attilius Regulus* was looked upon as worthy of a Triumph, after he had kill'd a Serpent 35 Foot long, and had foiled all the Forces of *Africa* who were in *Asdrubal's*, and *Amilcar's* Armies: but when he prepared himself for it with joy, and that he lookt upon rest and glory as the fruit of his valor and toils, he was constrained to receive chains at *Carthage*, with the same hand with which he expected to receive the Crown of Lawrel, and the Robe which had been prepared for him at

*Rome.*

*Rome.* His Imprisonment lasted five years; and the *Carthaginians* to obtain a Treaty by his means, releas't him, upon his promise that he might employ his prayers and his authority to that which necessity forced them to desire. He went directly to *Rome*, where the noblest men of *Carthage* were Prisoners; but it was not so much to procure their liberty, as to prolong their servitude; and his eloquence and zeal had so much force upon the people, that they chose rather to let him go again, than to release that illustrious Nobility, whose courage was to be feared even in chains. As soon as *Attilius* was return'd, and that the *Carthaginians* understood that he valued his life less than the preservation of his Countrey, they put him in a *Tun* full of sharp Spears, made fast in the inside; and never ceased to rowl it about till he was dead, although they wondred more at his constancy, than he did at their cruelty. *Marc. Anthony* cut off *Antigonus's* Head, King of the *Jews*, in the City of *Antiochus*; and *Conradin*, King of *Suedeland*, and an Emperor of *Germany's* son, having been brought before *Charles Duke of Anjou*, suffer'd the same death at *Naples*. *Mahomet* the second, head the Nephew of *Scanderberg* all alive; and *David Comnenus*, Emperor of *Trebisandas*, and his daughter, left their Heads upon a Scaffold, by the command of that Tyrant, whose life is full of im-

impieties and crimes, and whose noblest actions were combustions, and murders. The *Spaniards* ordained that an *Indian King* should be hanged, after they had received above three millions of gold for his ransom; and burnt the King of *Mexico*, because he was too long a discovering his riches to them. Two Princes of *Africa*, *Fetez* and *Benaduxe*, were beheaded by the King of *Fex*; and *Francis Pizarro*, a *Portuguese* Commander, put to death *Atahilipa* King of *Pern*. In the Reign of *Solyman*, a *Turkish* Bashaw hanged to the Tackling of his ship, the King of the City of *Adam*, situate upon the Coasts of *Arabia the happy*, and the inhumanity of the *Turks*, made a Gibbet instead of a Throne to a King of *Zibith*. It is not long since that *Isechia*, King of *Trymba*, caused the King of *Gubert*, to die of a shameful death. And *Leon* of *Africa* relates, That a King of *Telusin*, was so unworthily used by *Abulbezin* the fourth King of *Fex*, that after he had expired under the Sword of an Executioner, it would not be suffered that he should have any other Grave than the intrals of Beasts. Who doth not know that *Joshua* hanged five Kings, one after another, as the old custom was? That the Tyrant of the *Agrigentins*, *Phalaris*, was burnt in his Brazen Bull: That *Edward III.* King of *England*, was put to a strange and cruel death: That *Michael Zilagus*, Prince of *Hun-*

geria, had his Head cut off at *Constantinople*, for having been too valiant? And that *Adeberg*, Count *Palatine*, hath received the same usage, for having been too credulous? Since I do not quote my examples according to the order of time, I will finish this Subject by the end of *Policratue*, and evidence that Fortune is never at a stand; and that he that rejoyceth when he hath escaped some eminent danger, hath no more reason so to do, than he that rejoyceth at the winning of his Cause, when he hath but delay'd it, and prolong'd his Suir. This King of the *Samiens* being acquainted with adversities but by hear-say, because he never had gone through any, one day being willing to moderate by a particular invention, the joy he received by such a great felicity, did cast into the sea a Ring of an inestimable worth, to cause himself at least some subject of grief. It happned by an unheard wonder, that this same Ring was found in a Fishes belly that was served before him, then he concluded that the gods had designed him to be the happiest of men. But a King of *Persia* had no sooner declared War against him, but he deposed him of his Kingdom, and made him breathe his last upon a Cross, as if it had been his intention to shew that we should value our lives by our deaths, that one dayes Fortune depended of another, and that every one of them depended on the last of our Lives.

N

CHAP.

## C H A P. VI.

Of Princes that have been employ'd by their Enemies in shameful Offices, and of others who have been used unreasonably.

**I**T is not without reason that Seneca affirms, That Virtue in Prosperity is desirable, but in Adversity it is miraculous: intimating, that those Hearts which command Nature, never seem fairer than in Adversity. If good Fortune discovers Vice, ill Fortune discovers Virtue much better; and whatever a man can do, moderation hath not so much lustre in the one, as fortitude in the other. Thus in Limning, Colours are more to the life when they are shadowed, and appear better and more agreeable to our sight: to conclude with Sir Francis Bacon, That it is by Virtue, as it is by Perfume, which smell never so sweet, as when they are bruised, or burnt. If ever man deserved praises, Carganus I think might justly expect it from his patience. Sesostris, the greatest King in Egypt, after he had subdued several Nations, was drawn in a Chariot by four Kings whom he had overcome; and that proud man seldom went abroad, but he gave that presumptuous



mark of himself and victories. As he made it his noblest divertisement, he took notice one day that *Carganus* turned his face towards the wheels, which he considering with more curiosity than at other times, could not forbear to ask him, *What objects could employ his thoughts, since he ought to have none but of his misery?* I thought of that, replied this man with much boldness: And though the change of my condition hath hitherto been a trouble to me, yet I consider that it should not seem so strange; for looking attentively upon this wheel, I perceived that the highest staff of it, became the lowest, in an instant, by its turning: And I considered at the same time, that it was the same with Fortune; that Prosperity was followed by Adversity and Troubles, and yet Adversity ought not to be without hopes. Not long since I was at the highest degrees, now I am at the lowest; and seeing all things in Nature change, I find that those that admire thee this day, will perchance be obliged to pity thee to morrow. *Sesostris* calling to mind that his own brother *Pelusinus* had once gone near to burn him and all his Family, and fearing in effect that such a Misfortune might befall him, used those Kings no more with such Insolence, but honoured them all after that time, and made use of *Carganus* as his greatest Minister of State. It is said that such an answer saved the King of

*Babylon's* life, who was taken by a *French King* in the Wars of *Basile*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, and that having been brought forth out of Prison, where he had been two years, he wondred to see him laugh at the sight of a wheel, though he had alwayes been as melancholy in his Imprisonment, as if he had been going to be executed. The King not knowing the course of such a sudden change, asked him the same question that the King *Sesostrius* asked *Carganus*, and shew'd some earnestness of being cleared of his doubts. *I laugh*, answered the captive King, *to see that the first thing that presents it self to me, sheweth me the vicissitude of all other things. All that is in this world, turns without doubt as this wheel, one may descend as well as ascend; and I see my self the Prisoner of a King, whom another may be will make his slave.* The misfortune of *Psemmentius*, King of *Egypt*, is not common, and History cannot shew any thing so great as his constancy, except his ambition. He was Son and Successor to *Amasis*, and had no sooner taken upon himself the Government, but *Cambyses* caused a great Army to march against *Egypt*, to join that goodly Kingdom to his Empire. *Psemmentius*, at the first news that he heard of it, gathered all his Forces, and marched them against this Monarch, and judged it was more convenient to meet

meet the *Persians*, than to stay for them. This Battel was very bloody, the Field was cover'd with dead bodies of the one and the other party, and the two Generals despaired both alike of victory, whil'st they fought for it. Notwithstanding the *Egyptians* were at last put to the flight, and forced to retreat to *Memphis*: but *Cambyfes* fortunately took this Town, and *Psemmenitus*, and having lodged him in derision in a Village, had a mind to try whether he could bear the disgrace. He was not content to have tryed it by this means, he sent his daughter in a Slaves habit, with the greatest Ladies of *Egypt*, to fetch water from a mountain from which she could not come back but must be seen of him, that his misery might be the more sensible to him. His daughter never came by him, but her sighs and lamentations were heard; her complaints never more were discerned, but when she was in his presence; thereby it was easily observed, that she suffered more for the Misfortune of her Father, than for her own; and that they proceeded more from her love, than from her weakness. Nevertheless *Psemmenitus* did look upon that Misfortune without tears, he beheld without astonishment the captivity of his daughter, and the loss of his Kingdom; and kept the same countenance in Chains, as he had upon the Throne.

His son quickly followed his daughter, accompanied with above 2000 Egyptians of his age, loaden as he was with Bonds and Chains; and though he knew that they were all going to execution, he look'd upon this second triumph of his Enemy with as little trouble, as if he had been of that Countrey which Fables make mention of, where men are metamorphosed into stones; But having perceived one of his Favourites, who was forced to beg by these Wars, he began to beat his head mightily, after the manner of the Barbarians, to shew his grief and resentment. Cambyfes hearing of it, and being surprized, said to him, *I wonder that thy friends affliction, hath had power to fetch tears from thine eyes, and yet thou didst not so much as cast a sigh for those whom thou gavest being to,*

*Ah!* Cambyfes answered Plemmenittus, *Domestick Crosses require no tears; great sorrows are alwayes kept in silence, because they are unspeakable; and the heart will bleed with them, rather than sigh when it is pierced. But when I see in misery the greatest Confident of my Secrets and Fortunes, I have found that Pity had more force upon me, than Nature; and that men are more subject to resent their own Misfortune, than to condole it.*

These words pleased Cambyfes so much, that ever since he advanced Psemmenittus's person nearer

nearer and nearer to his, and gave command that his son should be reprieved from the Execution to which he had been condemned with all the rest ; but they brought him word that it was too late, and that he had been the first Victim. *Psemnenittus's* heart was so good, that after all this he entertained some hopes of the Crown again ; and the truth is, he would not have been deceived, had not his plots been discovered by *Cambyfes*, who could not suffer that a remnant of Ambition should make him his Rival, whom he had made his Captive, and so forced him to drink Bulls blood, of which he dyed immediately. Although the Emperor *Valerian* had gather'd together all the valiantest men of the West, of the North, and of the South, and had employed three quarters of the world to subdue the other. *Sapor*, King of *Persia*, brake his Forces, and used him with so much indignity, as if his intention had been to punish a rebellious Subject. As soon as he had taken him, he considered neither his old age, nor his condition ; but made use of him instead of a stirrup to get on Horse-back ; and took so much delight in trying his patience, that had his cruelty been less, his satisfaction would have seemed so too. *Galian*, *Valerian's* son, had the Empire in his power the mean while, and this ungrateful man, who was able

to have put a million of men in the field for his fathers liberty, had so little resentment, that he did not stir in the least to redeem him from his Captivity: and so this unfortunate old man was the divertisement of his barbarous enemy to his dying day. *Lewis* the twelfth King of *France*, had no sooner *Lewis Sforce*, Duke of *Milan*, in his hands, as *Paul Jovius* relates it, but he caused him to dye in an iron Cage: And Pope *Alexander* the third, seeing *Frederic* the Emperor at his feet, who beg'd his son of him, who had been taken by the *Venetian* Armies, had upon his head these sacred words, (*Thou shalt tread upon the heads of Serpents and Scorpions*) to authorize his unheard insolence. *Tombejus*, Sultan of *Egypt*, having after his defeat been found hid in a marshy place up to his Neck amongst Reeds and Rushes, was carried as far as *Grand Caire* to *Selim*, who put him to the wrack, to force him to discover the treasures of his Predecessor *Campson*; and having for several dayes caused him to march through the Town upon an old Camel, with his hands tyed behind him, commanded that he should be hang'd in Chains, that he might be in derision to the *Turks*, and an example to all *Egypt*. *Bajazeth*, the first of that name, the fifth Emperor of the *Turks*, having notice that *Tamerlane* was bringing all his Forces against him,

him, was obliged to raise the Siege of *Constantinople*, and to give him battel upon the Frontiers of *Armenia*, in the same place that *Mithridates* had been vanquish'd by *Pompey*; *Bajazeth* lost there 200 000 men, and he, his wife and children were taken by *Tamerlane*, who shut him up in an iron Cage, laden with Chains; and who to punish his pride and his crimes, had him seen in that manner in all *Asia*. To aggravate his Misfortune, he put him with his Dogs, and forced him to feed as they did, very much like those threescore and ten Kings, whose hands and feet had in time past been cut off by *Adonibezeth*, and who fed but of the scraps that were thrown under the Table; and every time he lookt upon him, continually uttered curses and reproaches against him. He strived many times to end his regret with his life, but he could not find a way for it; and it was to his sorrow, that he found that there was no greater torment in the world, than to live against ones will. Nevertheless a Slave having thrown a Fish-bone at him in derision, he sharpned it in such sort with his teeth, that he ran it into his throat, and dashed his head in pieces against the Bars of his Cage; after above twenty years that he had been in that condition, who would have thought that such a redoubtful Emperor should have been so miserable, and that

that the *Ottomans* glory should have been so long their shame? He had subdued the *Tribalians*, taken *Armenia*, foiled *Albania* and *Macedonia*, wasted all *Phoeldus*, and constrained the Emperor of *Greece* to send for assistance as far as *France*. All his Sieges had been as so many conquests of Cities, and his Combats, as so many Victories. For all that a Shepherd made him his Captive, and the fortune of this Monarch, who was surnamed *Hildrin*; that is to say, Tempest, because of the quick execution of his enterprises, disappeared like a flash of lightning; to shew us that things do not alwayes move in the same course; that appearances are deceitful; and that which is most beautiful, is not alwayes the most lasting.

C H A P.



## C H A P. VII.

*Of some great Man who have chosen to dye,  
rather then suffer the Cruelty of their  
Enemies, or the regret of their Misfor-  
tunes.*

**W**E may affirm with a famous Author,  
that the solemnities of Death, is more  
dreadful then Death it self, and that it is ne-  
ver more to be feared, then in the sighs of  
Friends and Relations, in mourning cloaths, in  
obsequies, and other accidents which it is fol-  
lowed by; and to speak the truth, it must  
be quite another thing then it is represented  
to us, since courage prefers it to the smallest  
affronts that are, that grief craves its assistance,  
that love despiseth it, that honor aspires to it,  
that fear avoids it, and that despair runs to it,  
a Man is dead already that feareth to dye;  
the thoughts we have of Death, is certainly  
the greatest Torment of it; and it is with as  
little reason that we look with fear upon its  
hideous representations, which are left to us  
by timorous persons, as Children do that are  
scared by stories, and imaginary creatures.  
Death, in regard of Life, is the same thing that  
darkness is to light; it is no more to be feared  
then

then the night time ; and as it is as natural to us as our birth , and that we can go out of the World , with less trouble then we came into it ; it is evident , that those who have been terrified by it , have cast their eyes no farther then its outward dress and appearances. We read in the *Roman History* , that the last words of *Augustus* , were a Compliment to *Livia* ; that *Galba* died jesting and merry making ; and that *Septimus Severus* waited for Death , with a resolution worthy of his Spirit and Courage ; *Amilion* , being minded to gratifie *Affrica* , for the losses it had sustained , by the slowness of his Predecessor *Malcas* , fitted out a great Fleet to go into *Sicilia* , to make the *Carthaginians* names as famous there , as their Arms ; They were no sooner landed , but a grievous Pestilence that came amongst them , forced them to Sea again , to return to *Carthage* with as little success , as if they had no other design , but to view *Sicily* , instead of conquering it. As soon as *Million* was come to the harbor , and had examined the number of so many brave Men , that died by this fatal and strange disease , he came forth before the people , cloathed in a mean garment , with a dejected face , with his Head bare , and in such a deplorable condition , that sighs and tears seemed to have been only the fruit of his Voyage. After he was conducted to his Palace,

Palace, and that he saw himself alone, he took his Sword, and running it into his Body, shewed by that action, that he was not worthy of life, since the gods thought him unworthy of such a Conquest. *Demosthenes*, who from the study of Books, came to the exercise of Arms, appeared no less resolute then *Million*, and his Courage was as great as his Eloquence; one day being pursued by *Acchias*, who had been an actor, and who was at that time one of *Antipaters* Captains, he was constrained to flye to the Isle *Calauria*, and to stay in the Temple of *Neptune*, to see if his Enemies should have the boldness to prophane it by a Sacrilege; *Archias* endeavored to give him an assurance from all his fears, and did what lay in him, to perswade *Demosthenes*, that he had the power to save his life; as well as he had the will to do it; but *Demosthenes* not stirring from the place, answered him, *That as he had never been perswaded by Plays he acted, much less was he by his words and Protestations.* He begg'd only a little time of him, to dispose of some affairs; and being left by himself, he took the Reed that he was wont to write withal, sucked the poison of it, and died immediately, and would not suffer that it should be said, that he received a curtesie from a strangers hand, that he could not procure from his own. *Quintus Catiillus*, to avoid the cruel-

ty of his Enemy *Marius*, commanded some quick Lime to be brought into his Chamber, and having kindled it, ran into it, and expired in a far greater Torment, then any other that could be prepared for him. *Herminius* the *Sicilian*, being made a Prisoner, for siding with *Grachus* against the Senate, chose rather to bruise his Head to pieces, then to have it struck off by an Executioner; and *Cornelius* a Consul, to prevent the insolence of his Enemies, caused his veins to be opened in *Jupiters* Temple, of which he was Priest. As soon as *Paul Æmilius* had vanquish't *Demetrius*, who had assisted the *Macedonians* against the *Romans*; he sent him Captive to *Rome*, and the ill usage that he received there, was so sensible to him, that he thought he could not use his valor better, then against himself, nor shew no greater action, then to hinder the *Romans* by his Death, to dispose of his Fortune. *Abraham*, Son to *Haly* the Third, King of *Marock*, was found in a marvelous inquietude, as *Leo* of *Affrica* informs us; and his despair was no less remarkable then his Fortune. A Doctor, whose name was *Elmabely*, having for a long time studied the ways to usurp the Crown, perswaded his disciple *Habdul Numen*, to run the same danger with him, telling him, that their enterprize might be as fortunate, as it was glorious; that all  
the

the Books together, were far inferiour to a Scepter, and that no less thing then a Kingdom was capable to satisfie their Courage and Ambition. This Youth gave ear to him, promised him all the assistance that lay in his power, and both together, began to dispose the Souldiers and the Government of Towns, with so much industry, that they made them all expect nothing but prosperity, from their Indulgence and care of them; having gained them all, they attackt *Abraham* in the field, routed all his Chavallery, and put him to the flight, and besieged him afterwards so violently in *Marock*, that the Inhabitants acquaint him, that all things threatneth and presseth him, and that it were better to abandon the Town, then to defend it. The King in a great surprise got on horse back in the night with his Wife, and so went and threw himself down a Precipice, to shew more boldness then his Subjects; and to intimate to them, that a King ought not, when prest by Fortune, to descend from the Throne by any other steps. By these means *Habdel Numen* was Crowned King, because *Elmahely* died immediately after he had been Crowned; and thus Three Kings Reigned in *Marock*, in less time then a week, the like of which, I do not find in any other History. In the Wars that *Brutus* had, after the death of *Julius Cesar*, having defended himself

himself a good while from those that sought the revenge of that great Man; finding himself without hope, after the loss of his greatest Captains, killed himself with *Straton* Sword, that he might not have the confusion to undergo the wrath or the clemency of *Octavius* and *Antonius*. *Cassius*, who was of his Army, being of opinion that he had partly been the cause of the loss of the Battel, caused one that he had given liberty to, whose name was *Pindarus*, to cut off his head; and thought that it would be more disgrace to be killed by his Enemies, then by one who had been his slave. *Cato*, to avoid *Cæsars* power, opened his Breast with his Sword, and because the wound was not judged mortal, and that his Chirurgion sought to ease him, he tore his own Bowels, which came forth with so much resolution, that *Cæsar* broke out into these words, *I envy his death, since by it, he hath robbed me of the glory to preserve his life.* *Mithridates*, being no longer able to resist the *Roman* Forces; and besides, seeing his own Son against him, sought in his sword, that which he could not find in poison; and shewed well enough, that Men do not want ways to dye, when they do not want Courage. *Scipio*, Father in Law to *Pompey*, and many others, have done the same, but this *Pagane* Virtue is a Crime with us, and if we consider rightly this action  
of

of theirs, we shall find less Generosity in it, than despair, that they have aspired to dye, when they could live no longer, and 'tis but little honor to go to it, when one is driven. 'Tis especially in this, that we must not mind *Seneca*, when he saith, that the Wise Man li- veth as long as 'tis convenient, and not as long as he can; that Fortune may take what Nature leaves; that the most pleasing Death is the best; that it matters not whether it cometh to us, or we run to it; and that it is as low a thing to beg it of any one, as to beg ones life, it is far better to think, that Ignorance featheth it, that Timerous- ness fleeth from it, that Folly seeks it, that Wisdom stayeth for it, and that fury and despair rush into it.

## C H A P.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Of great Armies, which have been won-  
sted by small ones.*

**X**erxes King of Persia, Son to Darius the First of that name, and to Athossa Cyrus's Daughter, had no sooner considered his Forces, but he resolved to employ them for the Conquest of all the World; he thought it his best way to begin his enterprize, by the desolation of Greece; and though it was stored at that time, with experienced Commanders, it could not come into his mind, that the prodigious number of his Men, which were able to cover that famous Kingdom, could be kept from usurping of it, and that right should not submit to his power. He had in his Land Army, seventeen hundred thousand Foot, and eighty thousand Horse; which number surpris'd him so much, that viewing it from the top of a Hill, he could not forbear shedding many tears, knowing that a hundred years at most, should be the end of so many Mens lives. Although that number of Men were enough to terrifie the greatest hearts; Leonidas, with four hundred Lacedaemonians, opposed his coming into Greece, by the narrow passage of Thermopilus, and there shewed



shewed such great Marks of his Valor, that he killed at that time, above twenty thousand Men upon the place. *Xerxes* Naval Army, was composed of one thousand two hundred and seven men of War, besides a great many other small Ships, which being numbered with the other, made three thousand, which altogether, had on board of them above five hundred seventy thousand six hundred Men; and the *Grecians* Fleet was so little, that every one of their Ships was forced to fight a hundred. Nevertheless, they had in this occasion more courage then strength, and more good success, then hope their courage was equalled by their policy; and in this occasion, a Man may count that a generous resolution, which in any other, might have been termed a shameful temerity. They were not satisfied with defending themselves from their Enemies; they attackt them with so much constancy, that they set the Sea on fire, and dyed it with blood, and forced *Xerxes* to fly into *Asia* shamefully, as if their liberty had been but the smallest recompence of that Combat. The *Lacedemonians* since, by *Pausanias* his diligence, made an end of the Land Army, at *Platæis* Fight, by *Ceres* Temple; *Mardonius* who commanded it, was killed upon the place, with two hundred and eighty thousand Men; and of fifty thousand

Greeks, there was but ninety one *Lacedemonians*, fifty two *Athenians*, and eleven *Tejaters* mist; the same day they got a Victory over the *Persians*, killed *Mardontes* and *Tigranes*, took the City *Micare* from them, burnt or pillaged all their Ships, and cut in pieces the choicest Men of the valiantest Nation in the World. *Alexander*, was so fortunate in his Wars, against *Darius*, that with thirty six thousand *Macedonians*, he killed six hundred thousand *Persians*, in the first Battle; and that which seemeth incredible, is, That sixty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, who were killed by the *Greeks* in the second Battle, by a little number as before, with forty thousand that were made Prisoners, made him Master of all *Darius's* Dominions. When King *Radagastus* was drawn into *Italy*, by *Rufins* infidelity, the *Italians* cut him in pieces, by *Fisuli*, with two hundred thousand *Goths*, under the command of *Stilicon*, who since that time favored them, and who was the cause that the Empire suffered in all its Members, and that all its parts were markt with some blows or wounds. *Eudon*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, finding himself too weak for *Charles Martell*, applied to the *Saracens*, who by their Conquest of *Spain*, and by the cruelties that they practised indifferently in all places, did cast a fear of themselves in all Forreign Nations; he wooed

dred

dred himself, to see to the number of four hundred thousand of them, with their Wives and Children, and their Slaves; so that they seemed rather to come to make Colonies in France, then to assist him. *Eudon*, no sooner heard, that this Multitude of people, left nothing where they past, but ruined places, and turned all into Desarts; and that they never marched out of any Town, until they had plundered it; but he made peace with *Charles Martell*; and though he had called them to his assistance, the same fear that caused him, to send to them, obliged him to stop their passage, and to oppose their Arms, with more resolution than he proposed to to make use of them. This obstacle did not hinder them to march quite through *Aquitaine*, and *Tours* had doubtless been taken and destroyed, as well as *Bourdeaux* and *Poitiers*, if *Charles Martell* had not given them Battel. There were only fifteen hundred French kill'd, and three hundred fourscore and five thousand of their Enemies, remained upon the place; their Triumph was honored by the death of *Abdicam*, King of the *Sarazins*, and their misfortunes were hid a long while in the Tombs of those Infidels. But *France* hath felt Crosses, as well as Victories; it hath been a burning place for it self, as well as for its Usurpers, and hath not always been so fortunate, but it hath

mourned often for its losses. When the Prince of *Wales*, called the *Black Prince*, who was at that time before *Poitiers*, had submitted in vain to all the honorable Conditions that could be, to return into *England* in peace, and found that he would at last be forced to fly with danger, or dye with honor; he turned his patience into fury, and fought so valiantly, that with two thousand men in Arms, and six thousand Archers, he destroyed all the French Army; and the number of his Prisoners was as great again, as that of his Souldiers; took *John King of France*, and *Philip his Son*, and the most considerable Nobility of that Kingdom; and by a Miracle that's unknown to us, got a great reputation out of his despair. If we may believe the History of the *Indies*, we shall find, that the *Portugaise* Ambition, hath had most commonly good success; That they have subdued Potentates by their Policy; That with two or three thousand Men, they have overcome a world of fighting Men; and that they have found ways to enslave Men, when they sought some, to secure themselves from them. *Huniadam*, and *Matthias Corwin*, got a greater Fame amongst the Turks, with their own presence, than by the number of their Souldiers; and hath not *Scanderberg*, with ten thousand *Albanians*, worsted Armies of two hundred thousand

land Men, and constrained two of the greatest Emperors of the *Ottoman* Race, to admire in him, that which they could not comprehend? We have a multitude of examples upon this subject; but we will make use of them for an other end, and it would be to no purpose, to prove a received truth. Every Man knows, that the greatest Parties are not always the most fortunate; That Chance is inseparable from War; and that is the cause, that some of the Antients grounded in that opinion, sacrificed to Fortune before the Battle. We must now consider, the Conquerors ill fate, that there are fatal felicities, and dangerous Victories; that rest is the fore-runner of trouble and confusion; and that a Man may perish at that instant, he thinks himself most secure.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of those who have been vanquish'd and slain  
by their Enemies, after they have had  
Victory over them.*

**A**S Crasus one day was shewing his treasures  
to Solon, and asking him, *Whether there  
were any man that durst to attack him, except he  
first renounced his Reason and Honour?*

My Liege, answered Solon, *of what value soever  
these things may be, don't doubt but another Prince  
may become Master of all this gold, if his sword  
proves better metal than yours.* Intimating to  
him by that, that Money, that is ordinarily  
called the sinews of War, might doubtless en-  
tertain it: but yet that the richest ought not  
to hope for the greatest advantage, and that  
Victories most commonly were won by co-  
rage and policy. Cyrus was so fortunate in all  
his Enterprizes, that he carried the Limits of  
his Empire as far as those of *Jonia*; he took  
*Babylon*, that was able to withstand all the  
World; and there was never a man before him  
that conquered so many Provinces and King-  
doms. He was in the same sentiment of a King  
of *Lydia*, that could not believe that a man  
might fall by his own Forces; he lookt upon

his

his Conquests, as upon unperishable Goods; and could not imagine that a man that commanded so many Nations, could be commanded by Fortune. To shew by evident proofs he turned his Arms against the *Seythians*, and marched his Army against *Queen Thomiris*, who sent her son to meet him, and who rejoiced that he should signalize his youth and courage, by the overthrow and ruine of this great Monarch. But *Cyrus* feigning to despair of the Victory by some appearances, seemed to be hotter to retreat; than to fight, as if his flight had been his onely hope; he left behind him great store of provision in his Tents, to busie his Enemies, by a policy which was so much the more fatal to them as it was unknown. There this imprudent youth, having found wherewithall to satisfie the greediness of his Soldiers, forbade them not the use of Wine, they drank till they had unman'd themselves: and *Cyrus* falling upon them in that condition, it was very easie to destroy them, for most of them were killed in their sleep; and their Prince was no sooner awaken'd by the Alarm, but he was massacred with his men. *Thomiris*, in lieu of sighs for the loss of her Son, and her Subjects, when she heard this news, took rather to vengeance than tears, she kept her resentment and policy in her breast; and to persuade *Cyrus* that the greatness of this wound  
had

had left her no wayes nor Forces to revenge herself, she fled amongst the mountains, there to practise by artifice, that which she durst not undertake by courage; and to try if Ambushes should be more prosperous to her than pitched Battels. When she had drawn her Enemy into those Desarts, and put this great Army in a confusion, by the difficulty of the Passes, and the despair they were in ever to go through them, she attackt *Cyrus* with a marvellous resolution, slew 200 000 *Persians*, and causing his Head to be cut off, threw it into a Vessel full of blood, with these reproachful words, *Drink, drink at thy ease, cruel Tyrant, of a Liquor where-with thy mind could never be satiated; and since nothing could quench thy thirst but blood, at least drink thy fill after thy death, of that which thou hast been so greedy of during thy life.* Thus a woman compassed that which so many Kings had undertook to their ruine, or to their shame; thus resentment destroyed him that had escaped so many Battels and Conspirations: and thus the virtue of a desperate Queen triumphs over great *Cyrus* in the midst of his Victories. In the War that the *Romans* had against the *Partes*, one may find a passage much like this, but because it is worthy of our Subject, it is requisite to give a short Relation of it, and to consider both the beginning and the issue of it.

After



After the *Gaules* were fallen to *Cæsar*, *Spain* to *Pompey*, and *Syria* to *Crassus*; this last managed his business so well, that he marcht with an Army as far as *Mesopotamia*, by the help of a Bridge that he built over *Euphrates*, and there it was that he proposed to extend his Conquests as far as *Bactria*, in the *Indies*, and the Ocean on the East; and that the Victories of *Lucullus* against *Tigranus*, and of *Pompey* against *Mithridates*, were much less than those which flattered his ambition and his hope. *Hyrodus*, King of the *Parthes*, knew no sooner of his coming, but he dispatcht Ambassadors to him, to acquaint him, That he refused his friendship, and the Romans alliance, if any private War was the end of his coming; but as if it had been as easie to him to conquer them, as to speak to them; and that he had been as successful a Commander, as he was a good Orator. He replied in derision, That he would give them Audience in the City of *Celucia*. *Artabazus*, King of *Armenia*, to favour *Crassus's* enterprize, came immediately to meet him with 6000 Horse of his Guard, promis'd him 10000 more, besides 30000 Foot that were alwayes in Pay, and offer'd him free passage through his Countrey. But *Crassus* chose rather to go by *Mesopotamia*, and take to the *Romans* again, with whom he had rather confide as Domesticks, than with Foreign Forces. As soon as he began to pass his Army over the Bridge

Bridge that he had made over *Euphrates*, there were heard dreadful Thundrings, and out of a black Cloud there came forth a Hurricane, with two Thunderbolts, which overthrew half of his Bridge; this Prodigy was accompanied by many others, which could not moderate his Ambition, and which were not capable to relent his courage. One of his Horses that was richly accoutred leapt into the River with his Rider; and the first Eagle that was taken up before the Army in order to its marching, turned back of its own accord, at the sight and astonishment of the whole Army. As the Priest had done offering of Sacrifices, and that he gave the intrals to *Crassus* to hold, they fell from his hands; and although they had distributed to his Soldiers with their Ammunition Bread, some Salt, and by chance, which was apprehended by them to be a presage of mourning and death, and that his son was fallen upon him in coming out of the goddess's Temple of *Hierapolis*, and that other signs had forewarned him of his disaster, yet his experience had more power to persuade him than all the Predictions; and his Superstition was not so great as his Vanity. At that same time, an Officer of *Arabia*, named *Ariamnus*, who in time past had received great favours of *Pompey*, profer'd himself to guide *Crassus*, and to draw him into the field, persuades him that *Hierodus* would never come in person, and

and that he would only have to do with his Lieutenant *Surenna*, that the *Scythians* had taken their Goods with them already, and were fled into the Wilderness, and no Arms to resist him; and to conclude, that he could not so long defer a Battel, without danger of losing it. *Ariamnus*, who was set on by the *Parthes*, and who was not suspected by *Crassus*, easily leads him off from the River side, and brought him into a sandy Plain, and so left him in a place where Nature hath alwayes been barren, and in a Countrey so hot, that those that are forced to go through it, are equally scorched by the Sun, and by the Earth. *Crassus* in this confusion, having discovered his Enemies, brought up his Army in Battalia, opened his Ranks, on purpose to fill more ground, and to prevent the *Parthes* from encompassing him, put his Cavalry upon the right and left Wing: but bethinking himself, he changed his opinion; for he closed his Infantry again, and made them face every way, and so gave one Wing to *Cassius* to command, and the other to his son, after he had represented to them, that from this Victory depended the Fortune of a Friend, the Safety of a Father, and the Honour of the Republick. *Crassus* had no sooner given order to fall upon those *Barbarians*, but his son *Publius Crassus*, with a 1000 Horse, and 800 Foot, put them to flight; the *Gaules* that he brought himself to his Father,

Father, by *Cæsar's* appointment, were not at all daunted, neither by the weight of their Enemies great Arms, nor by the number of their Drums covered round with small Bells, whose dumb noise, to make use of *Plutarch's* words, imitates that of Thunder, and seemeth to be mixt with the roaring of wild Beasts. Then it was that the *Parthes* were worsted, and that the *Romans* began to think that their Generals took the wisest course, to expect from their care and generosity, that which he could not expect from the Magicians, and from the Victims. *Publius Crassus* having nothing else to do, but to pursue them that fled, followed them very far; but whether it was out of despair, or by policy, they scattered their Horses in disorder, and by this means raised out of several heaps of sand, such a thick dust, that the *Romans* could neither speak, nor know one another: this obliged them to close together; but the *Parthes* made so good use of this Adventure, that they shot most part of their Arrows at them, and left them neither the courage to attack them, nor power to defend themselves. Notwithstanding *Publius Crassus* excited his men by his actions, and by his words: but those that were wounded, when they went to stir upon the sand, brake the Arrows heads in their Bodies, and made their wounds the bigger, thinking to  
pull

pull them out of their veins; some others shewed him their hands fastened to their shields with darts through them, and their feet to the ground in like manner, to let him see that it was not in their power either to flie or fight. *Publius Crassus* who was wounded himself, was counselled to retire in a Town called *Ishness*; but he replied, *That he ought rather to meet death, than to leave so many men that received it for him.* And to give a proof of what he said, he commanded his Gentleman of Arms to kill him immediately with his own Sword, because this wound did not permit him to do that office upon himself, he being disabled. The most considerable of his Army had generosity enough to imitate him, and not to survive his Misfortune; they killed themselves, or caused themselves to be killed, as he had done: and let *Surena* see, that amongst all Nations, the *Romans* alone never were buried, but they left some Epitaphs for their glory over their Tombs. The head of that great man was carried about the Camp, which did so discourage the rest that were left alive, that Fear froze their Blood, as soon as they saw that of their Captain. *Be not daunted at that Friends,* said *Crassus*, *seeing that sad spectacle;* and thinking to encourage them by his words, *This accident,* said he, *is more sensible to me, than to all of you; but men must submit to evil Fortune, when it is a presage of good,*  
and

and the cause of our happiness: Know you not, that those that aspire to great things, must be resolved to great losses? I have not begot my son for my self, but for the good of the Republick; he is dead in a generous Combat for it, and you ought to imitate what you have admired in him. Just now revenge your selves with me, of those that have deprived you of a Captain, in depriving me of a Son; and remember that it hath cost Scipio and Lucullus some blood, to overcome Antiochus and Tigranis; that our Fathers have lost a thousand ships at several times, to assure their Conquest of Sicilia to themselves; that the new wounds that we have received in Italy, have healed others which were more dangerous: and to conclude, that Fortune hath not been so favourable to us, as our Constancy. This Discourse was without effect; and though Crassus resisted the Parthes, and endeavoured at last to save the Romans that remained, by retreating; Surenas cut in pieces 20000 of his men, took 10000 Prisoners, sent Crassus's head and his hands to Herodas, who at that time had War with the Armenians, to revenge himself for the help and passage which they had offered to his Enemies; and at last shewed by experience, that a man may be victorious in Misfortune, and that Fear does arm men sometimes as successfully as courage. Procopius writes in his History, That Mundus being commanded to go into Italy, to repulse the Goths,

Goths, heard almost at the same time, that his son *Maurice*, who was then at *Salones*, had defeated them; and that his greatest business was to celebrate his sons victory, without seeking it himself. But he was informed also, that as his son was gone to meet them, rather to spy, than to fight them, that he grew so hot in some skirmish, that he had endangered the victory which he had got, at the loss of his blood, and that he was killed, after he had made sure the liberty of the Empire. At this news, *Mondus*, to revenge his sons death, ran furiously after them that were fled, charged and cut them in pieces: but a certain Soldier facing about, killed him with the first dart he shot at him. This Adventure was miraculous in some regard, because the *Romans* remembering certain Verses of a Sybil woman, who prophesied that *Africa* should be subdued, when the world and his seed should perish, found it true in effect. A Monk whose name was *Bejezid*, having by his eloquence drawn after him 40 000 men, attackt *Mahdy*, Prince of *Numedia*, and chief Priest, so desperately, that he made him flee for refuge into a Town that he had built upon the Mediterranean Sea, because he found no other that could secure him from the rage of his Enemy. But having received 30 men of War from a Mahometan, he sailed against them that had

vanquish him, killed *Bejezid* and his son, and then returned to *Cairarem*, made himself more absolute, but less Tyrant than he was before, and maintained himself with so much good success, that his Subjects got an habit to love and fear him. When *James* the fourth, King of *Scotland*, wasted *England* with an Army of 60000 men, and that he found no man that opposed his progress, he charged some English men, which necessity obliged to defend themselves, and making slight of them, because they were not considerable by their number, he was kill'd upon the place, pursuing the reliques of his victory. *Gaston*, Duke of *Nemours*, had the same Misfortune at the *Raven Fight*, for not being content to have worsted his Enemies as he desired, this great Prince, who had subdued all *Italy* in less than three Months, and who had made himself famous in an Age in which others were hardly known, dyed with a wound that he had received by some unfortunate men, with a Pike, who thought more to preserve their lives by their flight, than to defend it by their Arms. Our Modern Histories are fuller of such examples, than Ancient ones; but my design is not to describe what we see every day, it is enough that I have shewed that nothing hapneth to us, but what hath hapned to those Ages that have preceded ours; that many things  
have



have never been raised higher than after their fall; that the vanquish't have often triumpht by their losses; and that it is no new thing to see a happy end follow despair.

# CH A P. X.

*Of those who have been killed by their Allies, Subjects, Soldiers, and Relations.*

I Have shewn hitherto, That Riches, Kingdoms, Towns, and Armies, have not been able to resist Fortune, and how she hath raised Enemies to those who seem'd to have no cause to fear them; now I must shew that she is of all Parties, that she is born in an Allies Countrey, as well as in the Enemies; that she is concerned in Friendships, as well as in Broils and Harred.

*Agastocles, King of Sicilia, after he had vanquish't the Carthaginians at Zaphones in Numedia, took a resolution to besiege Carthage; but knowing that his Forces alone would not suffice to execute such a great Enterprize, he desired Ophelas, Prince of Cyrena, to join with him in that War, and to facilize to him the prize of that Town by his assistance. And to oblige him to help him in this occasion, he protested*

to him, that he had no other end in it, than to secure his Dominions, and promised him to let him keep all that they should conquer together in *Lybia*. *Ophelas*, overjoyed of his demands, and his promises, came to him with 10000 Foot, and 6000 Horse, and besides that got some aid from the *Athenians*, in the hopes they were in to have their Dominions reach as far as *Africa*. *Agathocles* received him with joy, and shewed him the resentment he had for all his toyls, and for the resolution he had taken to help him against barbarous men, who could not live in peace, neither amongst themselves, nor with their Neighbors, and who interrupted all peoples rest, by their deceit, or by their Arms: But this Alliance did not last very long, and this dissembling man was not long before he discover'd his perfidy. As *Ophelas* had sent part of his Cavalry for Provender, trusting more to his Friends Forces, than to his own, and that he sought only his satisfaction, *Agathocles* brought up his men together, told them that *Ophelas* had designed to betray and ruin them, and perswaded them to that imposture, by so many deceipts, that these men in a rage fell upon the *Cyrenians* Camp plundered the richest things, and massacred *Ophelas*, with all those that made resistance. Thus this Prince was unhappy, because he had been credulous,

and

and this Traytor, who drew him in his Army; but to find an opportunity to destroy him, made use of the most horrible, because he wanted all others to be rid of him.

When the *Carthaginians* saw that *Attilius Regulus*, General of the *Roman* Forces, had taken *Clypea*, which is the first Town that he found upon the Coast of *Africa*, that he had demolisht above Three hundred of their Castles, and that he had sent to *Rome* a Fleet laden with Plunder, and with the ornaments of a Triumph, they dispatcht Ambassadors to the *Lacedemonians*, to entreat them not to suffer their liberty to be usurped by Tyrants, who did not so much regard the enlargement of their Empire, as the ruine of others; and who shewed less earnestness to increase their reputation, than to practise their cruelty. The *Lacedemonians* sent them with the assistance that they demanded, a Captain named *Xantichus*, and this man employed himself so well for the *Carthaginians* happiness, that he routed the *Romans* in the first Battel, took *Attilius Regulus*, and left his life at the choice of them whom he thought himself Arbitrator of. The *Libians* shewing in all appearances to be as much satisfied as they could wish, received at that instant *Xantichus*, with a thousand Acclamations and Praises, called him many

times their Father and Protector, shed many tears at his departure, and sent him away laden with Presents, yet more worthy of their acknowledgments, than of his courage. What satisfaction did he not receive, to carry himself in his native Countrey, the news of his own Victory? But with what horror was he not seized, when the *Carthaginians* having brought him past of his way, paid his Generosity with an unparallel'd Ingratitude? These barbarous men, thinking to rob him of the glory which he proposed to himself, thought themselves obliged to rob him of his life, and so they murdered him, to persuade their enemies, that their happiness did not consist in the help of the *Lacedemonians*; and as if he had not merited a burying place, nor their compassion, they threw him into the Sea out of jealousie, and did not so much as bestow a Tomb on him that deserved Statues. But which way could he prevent their captious Humors, and their Rage? Was it likely that he should have been the Victim of those whom he had rescued from the Sacrifice? That his Creatures should have been his Murderers? And that he should have instructed those whose deliverance he had wrought? Reason indeed may prevent many Crosses, but a Traytor surprizeth so, that his first blow is a deaths wound.

It is no wonder when Malefactors receive the punishment that's due to their Crimes, nor that Justice should make them suffer that which their Cruelty makes others suffer; but it is an insupportable thing, that Virtue should be used like Vice; that Innocence should be in danger, where it should be most secure; and that the Insolence of Subjects should climb so high as the Thrones of their Princes. For all that we find, that Kings are in no more safety amongst them, than amongst their Enemies; Rebels at home make them tremble, as well as those abroad; and the Ambition of these is not so dangerous, as the Tumult and Insurrection of the other. *Diodorus*, in his first History of Antiquities, makes it plain enough to us by the example of an *Egyptian* King, called *Aprius*, who having successfully made War by Sea and Land against the *Syrians* and *Phanicians*, forced *Sodom* to yield to his power, and returned home so glorious, that it seemed that all his desires had attained their period, and that his felicities extended themselves even beyond his hopes. Notwithstanding having sent his Army against the *Barcians* and the *Cyrenians*, and that it had been for the most part destroyed; those that were left, said openly, That they would respect neither his dignity nor his person; and that they were not obli-

ged to obey him, who had sacrificed so many men to his ambition, or his quarrel. To appease them, he sent the most Renowned Man of Egypt to them, called *Amasis*, and did not doubt but his Eloquence, and his Authority, should prove stronger than their Resolution and Hatred. *Amasis*, far from casting into their hearts an impression of love and obedience, inflamed into them a fire which before began but to kindle, made the most faithful turn Rebels, accused *Aprius* of Tyranny, and gained them so well by his dissimulations and flatteries, that they presented him the Sceptre sooner than he required it of them. He made use of this advantage, and of their Arms against *Aprius*, fights him, and takes him Prisoner; and that he might with the more safety go up the Throne, he made him the horror of his people, after he had been their admiration. *Hugo*, Duke of *Pavernia*, having not been able to resist his Enemy, was put to the same death by his men. And we read that *Hannibal* the first of that name, having not been successful in some Sea Combats, was Crucified by the *Carthaginians*, and that he found no favor with them, having not found Victory with others when he sought it. *Agis*, the last King of the *Lacedaemonians*, was reduced to the same Misfortune by the sentence of the *Ephorites*; and as the Executioner

cutioner led him to the place of Execution, he lamented him, but he with a great deal of constancy comforted him by these words:

*Friend, do not mourn for my Sufferings, since I am better than those that have condemned me, my condition is better without doubt; mourn rather for them that survive me: for where a King dyeth innocently, all the people ought to fear.*

*Miltiades*, who was chosen Commander by the *Athenians*, by the answer that the Oracle gave, as they were in doubt who they should send to *Chersones*, was no better recompensed for his labour; and here is the manner how he was Prisoner of those whose liberty he assured. When *Darius* was repassing from Europe into Asia, he was counselled to take Greece into his possession, because that by the *Athenians* help, the *Fodonians* had taken *Sardis*, and put to the Sword all the Garison; and in that resentment he armed a Fleet of Five hundred Gallies. His Lieutenants *Ataphernes* and *Datis*, discovered in a short time *Euboea*, won *Eretria*, entred into the Land of *Attika*, and encamped in the Plain of *Marrathon*, fifteen miles from *Athens*. The *Athenians* surprized to have Ten thousand Horse against them, and Two hundred thousand Foot, begged assistance from the *Lacedemonians* with all speed, and in the mean time chose ten Officers

cers to command those Troops they might have, of which *Miltiades* was judged the most judicious, and the most considerable. He encamped in a very advantageous place; he set his Army at the bottom of an Hill which they had in flank, cut down many Trees which he laid in the wayes, to prevent the Enemies Horses from inclosing him, and attacked them so fortunately, that with Ten thousand *Greeks*, he slew, as some report, above Two hundred thousand *Persians* which were found upon the place. The *Athenians*, after this important victory, contented themselves to have his Picture drawn over that little Gate of their City called *Pacilus*, though since that time they have erected Three hundred Statues to *Demetrius*, when they were become more potent, and let themselves be corrupted by the profusion of those which bought Offices; and thought that it was acknowledgment enough for the obligation they owed him, to let him know that the people should preserve the memory of it. And not to let his experience be unactive, they gave him Threescore and ten Gallies, to punish the Islands unkindness, which had assisted the *Persians* against them; and his Voyage was so prosperous, that he reduced them to their first obedience, either by summoning of them, or by the force of his Arms,



Arms. But when he came to *Parr*, and found there some resistance, he Landed his Men, made Trenches round the Town, to make the Besieged lose the hope of getting any Ammunition, or Provisions; and by the help of their Bucklers and Targets, got as near the wall as it was possible. When he was ready to assault the Town, by a strange Misfortune the Fire took in a small Wood in the night, so that it was easily discovered by those that were in the Isle; and because the men within and without, apprehended that it was the signal of the *Persians* coming to the assistance of the Besieged, *Miltiades* finding himself too weak, sailed immediately for *Athens*, and found it better to raise the Siege without any loss, than to hazard without reason the good and the glory of all *Greece*; the wounds that he had received, did not permit him to come so far as the Town, to justify himself of the Accusation that was laid to his Charge, but his brother *Stesagora* pleaded his Cause with all his power.

For all that, the *Athenians* fined him thirty thousand pounds, and caused him to expire in publick Prisons; with as little mercy, as if he had employed to the ruine of his Country, those Arms which he had employed to its preservation; not that he was guilty

ty of the Treason wherewith he was accused, not that he had been gained by Money, as they would have perswaded him, nor that he had not kept in these Wars, the fidelity that he shewed in all others, but because *Pisistratus* had disturbed all their affairs some time before, that they suspected all those who were in power, and that *Miltiades* was of the number, they thought it was better to destroy, then to fear him, and considered no other ways the mischief he might do, then by the good he had done them. *Athleta*, King of *Ephesus*, having been restored to his Kingdom by that peace he made with *Cassander*, was killed by his Subject, with two of his Children; and as *Hieronimus* King of the *Siracuse*, after the death of *Hiero* his Father, did expect to succeed him, he was massacred by those that would not obey him, and by an unheard cruelty, his Daughter *Demaratha*, was tore limb from limb in a Temple, when they did neither respect her youth, her beauty, the gods, nor her innocence. The King of *Ponillia*, *Memphray*, had no better fortune than all these, though he was neither more Politick, nor more Tyrant, and that his people had rendred him till that time, all the marks of love and obedience; and the last King of *Acles*, by the sedition of his, left his Head upon a Scaffold, for

for no other cause, but to have given a box on the ear to a Bishop.

Of all the examples that we have of Princes, that have been killed by their Souldiers, I do not find any more remarkable, nor more strange, then that which Leon of *Africa* relates. Joseph, King of Fez, saith he, of the Race of Monlor, raised a potent Army, to besiege the Town of Telusin, and grew so obstinate, that he staid seven years before it, whatsoever invention he could use to surprise it, or to force it; at last the Besieged, seeing themselves reduced to all extremities, they petitioned their King Abutestim, who was in that Town, that they had done and endured all they could, to shew him their obedience, and that their constancy was firm still in their misfortune; but that Famine which oppressed them, took away from them all possibility of serving of him any longer, and that their fidelity could not be termed, but a virtuous possibility. Abutestim, shewing that he had suffered as much as them, without murmuring, protested. That he would expose to them his body; if it would satisfy the hunger of the least of his Citizens, and begged of them with so much earnestness, to fight for their liberty, That they resolved all to dye under his conduct. As they purposed to make a Sally the next day, they heard at the same time, that Joseph had been slain by one of his domestick

tick servants, because he had not taken Abutellim sooner; this news gave them so much courage, that they fell immediately upon their Enemies, over which they got a great Victory.

*Amilcar*, the *Carthaginians* General, was killed in the night by a *Gaulish* man, though *Plutarch* maketh him expire, in a Combat against the *Vetheons* in *Spaine*. *Aurelian* received the same usage in the *Olerians* Wares. *Galerius* and *Valerius* were slain by their Captains; *Galba*, *Aeliogabalus*, *Macrin*, and *Severus*, by their Souldiers; and *Pertinax* by his Guards. *Onochus*, King of the *Anianians*, was stoned to death by his Men: *L. Siccus* was killed in the *Sabians* Wars, by his Souldiers. *Amon*, *Manasses* Son, and *Joas*, Kings of *Juda*, perished by the rage of her Subjects; and that valiant *Timothy*, who had subdued the *Olinthians*, and the *Bizantins*, and *Domitian*, by that of their Domesticks. *Virakus*, King of the *Austrians*, was poisoned by one of his Subjects: *Julius Maximinus*, the twenty sixth Emperor of the *Romans*, was killed by his Souldiers, with his Son, who was but a Child; their bodies were cast into the River, and the youth of the one, nor the old age of the other, could not preserve them from the insolence of those Traitors. Many others who have been  
used

used after the same manner, amongst the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*, discovereth enough, That the dangers whereunto great Men are lyable, are hid most commonly in thir own Forces; and that *Seneca* had reason to say, *That whosoever despiseth his own life, doth command that of a Prince.* But as if Fortune had thought it but a small matter, to cause Rebellions of Subjects against Kings, of Servants against their Masters, and of Souldiers against their Commanders; it hath besides, made use of Brothers against Brothers; and of Fathers against Children; insomuch, that life seems as much to be in danger, by those who bestowed it, as by those who are bound to defend it. When *Jaſus*, Son to *Camblobascon*, and to *Electa*, Daughter to *Atlas*, was created Patriarck of *Toscany*, and that he had succeeded to *Belgium* the Fourteenth King of *Gauls*, being his nearest Kinsman, he Married *Iphitis*, and his wedding, according to *Diodorus*, was the first that was celebrated upon earth. After his Fathers death, he became King of *Italy*, and grew so potent, that it was enough to be considered by him, to become so too; his glory for all that, raised him Enemies in his own Dominions, his Brother *Dardanis* troubled his rest by Civil Wars, that were long and cruel; and because he could not dispose of him by his Arms, he strived

strived to destroy him by Treason; after he had long spied an occasion, he found him a Bathing near *Viterba*, and slew him, not considering that he was his Brother and his King, and retired instantly in his Ships, that he had prepared for his flight, tainted with Blood; and all in amase of his Crime, every Man knows that *Romulus* served *Remus* his Brother so, that *Typhon* stained his Arms with the blood of *Asitis*, and that long since the *Ottomans* Reign, over their Brothers Tomb. A King of *Persia* was poisoned by his own Sister; and the great Admiral of *Cicilia Major*, was Murthered by his Father in Law. *Enridice*, Mother to *Alexander*, *Philip* of *Macedonia*s Brother, Imprisoned her Son; and made him away by such a secret death, and so hidden, that it hath not been in the power of the most inquisitive to discover it. *Herod* slew his Children; *Mepilius Tarquatus* having forbidden his Son to fight with the *Lattius*, for all he worsted them, he caused him to be put to death, because he had preferred Victory to Obedience. *Brutus* having summoned twice his two Sons, *Titus* and *Valerius*, to their own defence, from those who accused them, to have taken the *Narquin* party, and having no answer from them, commanded the Hangman to pull off their Robes from them, and whip them bloodily, and then

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to cut off their Heads in his presence ; in which action, it is impossible to blame, or to praise him too much, saith *Plutarch*, because upon that occasion, he acted either by an excess of Cruelty, or by an excess of Vertue. *Nero* caused *Britanicus* to be poisoned, killed his Wife with a kick ; caused *Agripine* to be stabled, who at first had preferred his greatness to her own life, and without being touched with the horror of that action, only said, seeing her, *That he did not think he had so beautiful a Mother.* *Anthonia* was poisoned by *Caligula* her grand-son ; one of the *Horaces* run his Sword into his Sisters breast, because she had not high thoughts enough of her Countrey ; and *Commodus* put his to death, after he had exiled her ; *Medea* cut her Son in pieces ; *Anthonia* killed his Brother *Geta*, in his Mothers Arms ; *Livia* was suspected with reason, to have poisoned the Emperor *Augustus* her Husband ; and *Claudius* found some satisfaction in his shame, to have murdered his Wife ; *Audius* having met with his Son, suspected to have been concerned in *Catalins* Conspiration, ran him through with his Sword, with these words : *I have not begot thee for Catalina, thou wicked wretch, but for thy City ;* and History will have it, *That Philip the Second, King of Spain, slew his Son, rather to clear himself of his doubts, then to exercise his justice.* *Ninus* ;

killed his Mother *Seminamis*; and that jealous *Antipater*, Massacred his, because she shewed less love for him, then for *Alexander*; *Herodius* King of the *Parthians*, was murdered by his Son *Praartes*; *Timophanus*, a *Chorian* Captain, by his Brother *Timolean*; *Xantius*, Prince of the *Licians*, by his Son *Lucipus*; *Ismael* King of *Persia*, by his Wife; *Urialus*, by his Brother *Ulice*; and *Moninus*, Queen of *Pontus*, by the command of her Husband *Mithridatus*. If we look in the Scriptures, we shall find there *Abel* slain by his Brother *Cain*. *Adramelech*, and *Sarracher*, cutting *Senacherib*, their Fathers Throat, King of the *Assirians*; *Absalon*, who makes his Brother *Ammon* expire, by his servants Sword; to revenge the Incest committed upon his Sister *Thamar*; *Abimelech*, who butchered his threescore and ten Brothers; and many others, who are notable but by their paricides; but it is to insist too much upon a shameful subject, we will look upon the tears that Princes have shed with less horror, then the blood they have spilt; and we will have more satisfaction to describe their Misfortunes, then their Crimes.



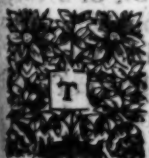
O F  
Misfortune.

B O O K I I I.

Of divers Misfortunes which have hapned  
by divers Adventures, to Princes,  
Courtiers, Learned Men, and Ladies.

C H A P. I.

Of Princes who have been reduced to a  
Shameful Poverty.



That Man that affirmed, that it  
was as facile to suffer Poverty  
for a long time, as to make tri-  
al of it but once, said more then  
he would have been willing to  
prove, and the riches that he acquired under  
his

his Emperor whom he Governed, were sufficient witnesses, that he had only the Theorick of a Virtue, which he feared to practice. Those that are born in Poverty, seem to be forced in some measure to live in it; they do not endure it so much out of courage, as out of custom, and although they appear always with the same countenance, it is certain, that their constancy is but a superficial Virtue, and that they make in themselves imprecations against those misfortunes, which they consider as upon Theatres. But to see Princes reduced to the last extremity; to hear at our doors, those that were heard only upon the Throne, and to give an Alms to them who have been Lawgivers; 'tis a thing, that's doubtless as strange, as it is incredible, and which is as hard to apprehend, as it is to bear. If Men had not a certain faith in Historians who should believe, that in so small a time, Fortune should have caused *Denys*, to change his profession and humor. That of King of *Syracuse*, he became school Master, and of an *Usher*, a player of the Cymbals; and that to get a bit of bread, he was forced to become a laughing-stock to those, who before sighed under his Tyranny. With what shame did not *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, an adopted Son to *Jean* Queen of *Hungary*, see himself banish'd from *Naples*; but rather with what patience could he suffer his disgrace,

disgrace, which was so great, that he saw himself forced to sell all that he had, to buy Bread for his sustenance: and if he had been without a coat of oiled cloth, when he died in *Pavillia*, he had left no other Arms after him, but the memory of his poverty. The Emperor *Charles le Gros*, was so unfortunate, that he had not often wherewithal to satisfy his hunger; and although he requested the Emperor *Arnulph*, to allow him some yearly Revenüe, that might at least be capable to maintain him; he saw himself always in the same condition and want, and at last was buried with as little tendance, or pomp, as if he had been one of the least Citizens of *Constance*. We have seen in the Third Chapter of the Second Book, how necessity constrained *Cineline*, Duke of the *Equosians*, to serve in the meanest manner, a Consul that had taken him prisoner: and in the same place we read, how one of *Persus's* Son, became Goldsmith at *Rome*, and the other a Blacksmith in *Cicilia*, out of opinion, that it was better to gain their livelihood, then to beg for it. *Ferdinand*, Son to *John* the Tenth, King of *Portugal*, having been taken by the Moors, in a Battle that his Father lost, was reduced to turn a Mill, to get some Bread to live, and that's the reason that the *Portugaise* had him in such a great veneration, that they have held him for

a Saint, and counted his labor a Martyrdom.

*Masens* relates a strange fortune, of *Manuel* of *Sonse*, Surnamed *Sepulveda*, Governor of the Citadel of *God* for the King of *Portugal*. After he had been happy for a long while in the *East Indies*, he came to *Cochin*, which is not very far from *Calicut*, at which place he embarked, in the year one thousand five hundred fifty three, in *January*, in a goodly Ship, loaden with five hundred Passengers, and all the Riches that were capable to content Avarice it self; his design had not all the good success he expected; his Wife, his Children, his Servants, and his Slaves, ran the same danger, his Ship was cast away upon the Coasts of *Ethiopia*, and the Sea spared none, but those that leapt in it half naked, and who were resolute enough, to try how far their destiny would guide and assist them. *Eleanor*, *Manuels* Wife, Daughter to the Viceroy in the *Indies*, for the King of *Portugal*, resisted as well as she could, those that would have stripped her, after they had served her Children so in her sight, and her Husband; but her resistance was in vain, and her weakness did not permit her to rob their sights of the Riches that nature had bestowed upon her. But to be hid to her own eyes, she covered her self with Sand, and made a vail of her long hair, that

that she might look upon her self without shame; she charged her Servants to provide for themselves, as well as they could; and for her part she did nothing but mourn and weep for her Children, who were by her, whom hunger had 'deprived of strength. *Mannuel* was a long while between amasement and horror for this adventure, and came to himself no other ways, then if he had recovered from a precipice, or had been thunder stricken. After he had recalled his senses, less wandering in apparence then lost, and that he had seen his Wife and Children in so lamentable a condition, he strived to run in a Forest that was by, there to seek some Food; but all that he could do, was to crawl thither, but his strength did in no ways answer his earnestness; he was no sooner returned, but he found his youngest Child dead, and his Wife extream weak, having fasted three whole days; he buried his Child himself, and if the Reader hath one, he may judge with what regret a Man can loose a Child in that manner. The next day he went in the Forest again, but when he returned to visit his wife and other child, he found them dead at the feet of some servant Maids, who tore their hair from their heads, and who could not have wept more, though they could have restored them to life again by their tears. He paid his last duties to them both, and hid his

Wife and Child in the Sand, and returned in the Forest, to supply his extream hunger; but he supplied that of wild beasts, and had no other grave, but their bellies.

*Nonomus*, King of the *Parthians*, being expelled out of his Kingdome by his Subjects, took with him all the finest and richest things he had, that he might subsist among his enemies, whom his misfortune obliged him to live with; as *David*, who had sheltered himself with *Agis*; *Alcibades*, and *Themistocles* with the *Persians*, and *Coriolan* with the *Volques*; but the Emperor *Tiberius*, took from him his Treasure a while after by his avarice; so that he was forced to beg a long while, in the City of *Antioche*, and to receive Alms with the same hand, that he bore a Scepter.

*Belizaire*, Lieutenant General of *Justinians* Army, having lost, with his Masters favor, the hope of ever getting it again, found no better friends, then those that gave him Meat to eat, and this great Commander, who triumpht twice over the *Persians* and *Vandals*, after the *Romans* old custom, was glad to receive Charities from those whose support and refuge he had been.

*Chrestierne*, King of *Denmark*, died in the service of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, being only one of his Gentlemen, as *Munster* relates, but an other informs us, that he fled into

into *Zealand* with his Wife, fearing to be punisht for his Cruelties, and there ended his days so miserably; that he had nothing to oppose but hunger; which he suffered to the last minute of his life.

Although *Epaminondas*, not regarding the Money, that the Philosopher *Theanor* brought him, from the *Pythagorians* his companions; for his having celebrated *Lysis* Funeral with much ceremony; answered him, That there were Men in *Thebes*, that knew how to use Poverty, as well as his companions knew how to use their Riches, and that he made a Vertue of his necessity. Yet the Historians have pitied him, because that after *Mantineas's* Fight, the *Thebians* buried him at the peoples charge, and that there was not found in his House, where-with to bear the least charge of his burial; and *Menenius Agrippa* was buried likewise.

A Bishop of *Upsalle* in *Gothia*, died at the Hospital, in the time of *Paul* the Third, Pope of *Rome*.

*Phillip* of *Comines*, saith, That he hath seen a Duke of *Lancaster*, who Married *Edward's* Sister, King of *England*, that ran bare foot after the Retinue of the Duke of *Bourgogne*, though there had been seven or eight great battels, between his House, and that of *York*, in which were killed above threescore Princes.

Many

Many great Men, as *Aristede*, *Manius Curius*, and *Cajus Fabricius*, have not been more happy, or to say better, have not been richer; but it was not their sloth so much as their Vertue; and theirs was not a forced Poverty, but voluntary; They thought it better to live in it, then to fear it; that Wise Men had no need of Riches, no more then a healthful Man of Medicines; and that there was no difference between possessing all things, and desiring nothing; that's the cause, that *Crates* threw his Money in the Sea, by the Councel of *Diogenes*; that *Zenocratus* refused the thirty Talents of Gold, which *Alexander* sent him, and that *Democritus*, (who was since imitated by that Roman Philosopher *Sextus*) was almost of the same mind, because they esteemed moderation above opulence, and that it was more glorious to neglect the gifts of fortune, than to follow after them.



## C H A P. II.

*Of those that have been Fortunate.*

**T**Here's no Glory that can equalize that of *Alexander*, if he was great in his enterprises, he was no less great in his Conquests; and if he drew some advantages from his Fortune, he drew no less from his Birth; *Phillip's* side, King of *Macedonia*, his Father; he descended from *Hercules* by *Caranus*; and of his Mother's side, he sprung from the Blood of the *Æacides*, by *Neoptolemus*: several presages foretold his Victories, and his greatness was proclaimed, even before he came into the World. *Olympias*, had not lain yet with *Philip* of *Macedonia*, when she dreamed that a Thunder bolt was fallen into her Womb, and that with the blow of it, there was a fire kindled, which dividing it self, in several flames, was scattered all over the World; and since, *Philip* dreamed, That he had sealed up *Olympias's* Womb with a Seal, whereupon the Figure of a Lyon was ingraven. Those that took upon them to expound Dreams, gave him notice, that he should take a great care of his Wife; but *Aristander*, grounded upon that Maxime, which doth not allow an empty vessel

fel to be Sealed, told him, *That Olympias had conceived a Son, who should have the heart of a Lion, and shewed in effect, That of all the opinions, wherewith all the rest would have possessed the King, his was the most likely.* The very day that he was born, *Diana's Temple in Ephe-sus*, was burnt; which accident perswaded all the Priests, that this Conflagration was an assured sign of great disorders; but *Hege-sias* laught at their opinion a little while after, and told them, that it was no such wonder, for *Diana* said, she was too much concerned at the birth of *Alexander*, as Midwife to preserve that Edifice.

Although *Alexander* was counselled to take the Government upon himself; after his Fathers decease, and to make peace with his Enemies, and not to fight them; he chose rather to reduce them to obedience by force, then by fair means; in effect, having vanquish't the King of the *Triballiens*, *Sirmus*, and knowing that the *Thebians* had some correspondence with the *Athenians*, he marcht his Army to the straight of *Thermopiles*, to let *Demosthe-nes* understand, said he, who termed him a Child in his Orations, when he was in the *Triballiens* Country; that he was grown to his maturity, passing through *Thessalie*, and that he would find him a Man before *Athens*. He took *Thebes*, and to make that City, an exam-  
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ple to all others, he Razed it, and caused all them that had escaped in its ruine, to be sold, even to the number of thirty thousand. Being afterwards chosen Captain General of Greece against the Persians, he entred Asia, fought Darius, and overcame him, saw his Wife and Daughters in the number of his prisoners, and got to Babylon, as quick as lightning. He was not satisfied with the Victories that he got over those Kings, that refused to submit to him; he would gain one also over the King of Beasts, as if he had been alone worthy of so glorious a Title, he fought with a Lyon, to shew to all his Men, marks of his courage and valor. He overcame the Scythians, and the Amazones, carried his Arms, as far as the Indies, subdued all things that opposed him, triumpht in every place where he was obliged to fight, and to be short, he made the greatest Princes in the World, Tributaries to Macedonia. For all this, whilst he was taking the pleasure of his Conquests, at rest, he was poisoned with Water, so cold, that it froze his heart, which fell from a rock, near the Town of Monacris, and as it is thought, it was by Aristotles means, who did not execute in person that attempt; but gave his help to it; and in effect, was the cause of it, since he counselled it first.

Demetrius

*Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, received so much honor from the *Athenians*, that they erected him three hundred Statues, which they venerated as much, as those of their gods; but these Men, that made no other judgment of Mens merits, but by their good success, judged him at last unworthy of their love and magnificence, overthrew his Statues; and caused him to dye in exile at *Thebes*; where to comfort himself of their injustice, and of their rage, he had occasion to use all his Vertue.

*Sylla*, was no less respected at *Rome* then *Demetrius* had been in *Athens*; although one of his Ancestors, called *Rufinus*, had been in great disgrace, because he had kept above ten marks of Silver in his house, which was against a publick Ordonance; and that his disgrace had reduced his Children to an extreme lowness; this same *Sylla*, for all that, raised himself to the Consulship, and married *Cecillia*, *Metellus's* Daughter, who at that time was chief Priest. After that he became so potent, that he used against *Marius* his Enemy, the Army that was raised against *Mithridates*; and having made himself Master of *Rome*, he marched his Troops against *Aristion*, the Tyrant of *Athens*, stormed the Town, burned all the richest things in the Port of *Pyria*, won two Battels against *Mithridates*, and forced him to pay two thousand Talents, and to sit  
him

him a Fleet of threescore and ten Gallies; because he had killed in a day, one hundred and fifty thousand *Romans*, that were found in *Asia*. After he had corrupted most of *Scipios* Souldiers, he prepared to defend himself from young *Marins*; slew twenty thousand of his Men, took eight thousand of them Prisoners, and lost but twenty three of his in this Battle; forced *Carbon*, the most potent of all his Enemies, to flye into *Affrica*; and by *Crassus*, *Metellus*, *Servilius*, and *Pompeys* means, his Lieutenants, he perfected most part of his enterprises; he rode in Triumph to *Rome*, and declared himself Dictator; he put to death all those that he suspected, or that were not pleasing to him, and filled that City with so many Murthers, and horror, that no Man at that time but a Paricide and a Sacriligious person was secure. When his cruelty was tired, he took to divertisement, with those that were in most credit and liberty with him; but his debauches brought upon him a loathsome disease, that corrupted all his body, and gendred so many Lice, that he could not be rid of them, either by change of cloaths, or by Stues; at last, seeking in vaiu for Remedies, being in a great fury one day against *Granius*, who refused to pay to the Commonwealth, those Duties he owed it; his anger made an Imposthume that he had in his body,

to

to break, after he had been the Murtherer of those, who he commanded to call him Father.

Amongst the finest observations upon *Augustus* life, we find, that he left the Empire of the World, the same day that he took it; That he died where his Father *Octavius* had breathed his last; That he was thirteen times Consul; That he exercised the function of a Tribune, thirty seven years together, that he acquired one and twenty times the Title and Quality of Emperor, and that after the death of *Lepidus*, he was made chief Priest. But for all he hath been the admiration of Strangers, and the terror of all Rebels, he hath often made wishes to Heaven for his life, when he made some for his glory, and hath often been no less troubled about his own preservation, then about exalting of himself. When *Julius Caesar* was yet alive, he was denied the command of the Chavalry, that *Lepidus* carried from him; and after he was massacred, the Senate crossed his greatest designs; his friends forsook him; *Anthony* betrayed his Party, and his misfortune was so great, that he was forced to comply with other Mens Crimes, and to make use of that lowness, as the first step to his preferment. To how many dangers was he not exposed, before he could be revenged of *Cassius* and *Brutus*, who had Murthered his Father and his Uncle; and with  
what

what astonishment did he not see himself surprised, for the intelligence of *Fulvia*, for the secret Leagues of *Lucius Antonius*, for the ruine of *Perousa*, where he was like to be killed by *Gladiators*, for the Shipwracks, and for the losses he had in *Sicilia*? was he not forced to hide himself in a Cave, to avoid the rage of those that pursued him; and while there, did he not require *Proculus* to kill him, to put an end all at once, to his fears, to his despair, to his confusion, and to his life? what disgrace hath he not suffered in *Epirus*; and at the Golfe *Atium*, besides the perfidy of *Cleopatra*? with what fear was he not seised, when he fell almost under the ruines of a Bridge in *Pannonia*, and how many of his own Legions hath he not seen against him, in time of Peace, as well as in time of War? besides his usual distempers, the doubts that the great Wit of young *Marcellus*, cast in his spirit, the banishment of *Agrippa*, the death of his Children, the cause of which, he could not find, without discovering the infamy of his Marriage, *Cinna's* Conspiration, *Julius* Adulteries, *Tiberias's* shameful retreat, his Grand daughters impudicity, the Rebellion of *Illyrie*, the necessity to raise Slaves, the Plague that afflicted *Rome*, the Famine that grieved all *Italy*, the loss of his Legions, and of *Varus*; the Regret to leave his Enemy, his Empire, and his

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Wifes

Wifes Treason, doth witness enough that his life was a continual misery. A man may count *Lucius Metellus* more fortunate, because he was Chief Priest, and twice Consul, and since Dictator; he was the first that made use of Elephants in the Wars of *Sicilia*, against the *Carthaginians*; and that took Arms for the defence of his Countrey, with more obstinancy, then the former had taken them for their grandeur. He lived in the reputation of a discreet, of a just, and of a valiant man; in his old age, when he thought himself at rest from histedious labors, he was stricken blind, for offering to ravish *Pallas* Picture that was in the Temple of the goddess *Vesta*, so that he grieved more for the loss of his sight, then ever he had had cause to rejoyce for his prosperity and victories.

*Policratus* Daughter, having dreamed one night, that *Jupiter* bathed her Father, and that *Apollo* anointed him with balsome; saw quickly after, the effects of her dream, because that he being crucified, as we shall see in another place; the Sun by the heat of its beams, made the sweat run down his body, which was afterwards washed by the rain; so that a Man who had always lived in a felicity, which himself could not comprehend, dyed in an infamy; the memory of which, will endure till the last Man.



*Quintus Metellus, Marins Lucullus, Trajan,* and several others, have found admirers in all places; their Fortune hath often excited envy, and praises too in their favor; and their merits have so sounded abroad, that it seems all calumny, that envy or malice can say against them. But the despairs and dangers they have been in, sheweth us that at last, their greatest felicities, have not equalled their troubles; and as *Socrates* saith in *Xenophon*, that the fairest Nymphs, did beget in time past, Fairies, and Satyres; we may conclude, that the greatest prosperities, beget the greatest mischiefs; and that one of the Ancients, spoke very pertinently when he called Joy and Voluptuousness, the Mothers of Melancholly and Sadne-  
ness.

## C H A P. III.

*Of many Princes who have been Mar-  
thered, where their lives seemed most  
safe and out of danger.*

As a dwarf is little still, though he stands upon a Mountain; we may affirm likewise, that Man is inseparable from crosses and misfortunes, to what dignity soever fate may exalt him. Though he may change his condi-

tion, yet he cannot change his nature; the Purple and the Crowns, which make him command so many Men, doth not impower him to be arbitrator of his own life; we see that he ought never more to fear, but when he is in a condition to cause fear in others; if fury arms it self against him, it respects neither his ornaments, nor his opulence; it fears neither his power nor his retinue; it seeks him both amongst his friends, and amongst his guards, as well as amongst his Enemies, and pursueth him in Palaces, as well as in Deserts.

A Man would think, that *Agamemnon*, after he had taken *Troy*, had had nothing more to do, but to hear and receive acknowledgments of all *Greece*: his revenge ought to have been satisfied by the consuming of that famous City to ashes, whose power made all *Asia* tremble before; and his patience, which could not signalise it self better, then by a Siege of ten years time, had rendred his glory as dear to those, that could no longer suffer it, as to them who only desired to employ it. After so many perils, which he defended himself from by Sea and Land, he returned home, loaden with foreign spoil; and as if he could not have received any consolation for the sacrifice of his Daughter *Iphigenia*, but with his Wife, he made no other wishes, but to make that loss

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supportable to her by his presence, and to make her confess, that her greatest care was to let the publick see, some marks of joy, rather then of sadness. *Clitemnestra* received him with an incredible satisfaction; all her actions seemed so many transports of love, one would have thought, that she had acquired a new friendship, when she got him in her possession, and that she propos'd no other period to her designs, but his satisfaction. *Agamemnon*, on the other side esteem'd himself more glorious by her Carresses, than by his Victories; the flames wherewith he had consumed *Troy*, was not so great (as he thought) as those he had kindled in his Wifes brest; and grew of opinion, that Virtue and Beauty was reconcil'd together in his favor. *Clitemnestra* fearing that at last he would discover how *Egis* had defiled his bed in his absence, quickly changed her doubts into a resolution, and to avoid the reproach, or the punishment of her impudicity, sollicit'd this secret Lover, to add Murder to Adultery, to deprive him of his life, whom he had robb'd of honor, and to cover one crime, by committing another. *Drift*, blinded with passion, consider'd not the horror of that attempt, he thought better to lose all the World, than the favors of *Clitemnestra*; that he ought not to regard his reputation so much as his happiness, nor the

innocence of the Husband, as the unchastity of his Wife. *Clitemnestra* having this assurance from him, Carreſſing *Agamemnon*, as he was riſing, threw a Robe on him, that was cloſed upwards; and having wrapped it about him, as ſhe had propoſed to herſelf, delivered him to the Traitor *Egiſtus*, who ran him through, and left him not, till he had cleared himſelf of all his fears, by as many wounds.

*Candolus*, King of *Lydia*, was murdered for the ſame Subject, by his favorite *Gyges*, when he ſeemed leaſt in danger. *Chilperick*, the ninth, King of *France*, by the malice of his Wife *Fredegonde*, was killed in his Palace, by *Landry's* hands, as he returned from hunting; and that great *Xerxes*, who according to ſome Hiſtorians, led three millions of men againſt *Greece*, was not ſo ſtrong, but *Artaban*, with his ſeven Sons, aſſaſſinated him upon the Throne itſelf.

The *Iſraelites*, being not able, or not willing to ſuffer the Tyranny of *Eglon*, King of the *Moabites*, dealt ſo well with *Abud Gera's* Son, that he reſolved to venture all for their liberty, although the danger ſeemed great enough, to make him deſiſt from his reſolution; and that his courage might be counted, at that time a folly, rather than a virtue; nevertheless, becauſe all things appear eaſy to the undaunted; and that ſucceſs follows bold-  
neſs

ness ordinarily; *Abud* seeks him in his very Chamber, and seeming to present him with something from his Companions, drew a Sword which he had hid under his Garment, and ran him through, with such a force, that it was not in his power to draw it back. He gets out immediately after, with as little perturbation of mind, as if he had acquired *Eglon's* favor. He went home, and related the adventure, solicited his Men to undergo the last extremity for their liberty, and perswaded them to charge the *Moabites* with him, who were more imployed to mourn for their King, then to revenge his death. He cutten thousand of them in pieces, and made himself absolute Master of their goods, of their wills, and of their lives.

*Seleucus* tasted at ease, the fruits of his labors, after he had conquered *Babylon*, and the Country of *Bactria*, upon *Pennites*, and upon *Aminas*; after he had vanquish't *Demetrius*; and in fine, destroyed *Lisymachus* in a Battle, who was the last of *Alexanders* Captains: At a time when *Ptolomeus*, envious of so many prosperities, was contriving with himself, which way he should bring his ruine about. He was afraid to attack him, because he despaired of the Victory over him; he looked upon himself to be too weak, and t'other too fortunate; he considered that he wanted Forces as well

as resolution, and that he should loose his Crown, if he lost the last Battle. Between fear and hope, which suspended his courage, it came in his mind, that Treason would prosper better with him then a Combat, and in that Sentiment he wrought so well for the destruction of his Enemy, that he caused him to be killed by Men, that diffidence it self would not have suspected.

The *Tribune, Gentius*, according to *Titus Livius*, was found full of wounds in his bed, when they came to desire him to assist at the sentence of the two Consuls, whose pride he he had brought down before; although was in such a credit at *Rome*, that a Man was counted a Criminal, that was of a contrary opinion to his.

*Lamedon*, the fourth King of *Trax*, and the greatest Prince of *Asia*, was stab'd in his Palace, before he could be assisted by his domesticks; and *Leo* the Fifth, Emperor of *Constantinople*, was assassinated in a Church, by the conspiracy of *Michael* the Stutterer, whom he had imprisoned: and thus this Man was the author of the death of him, who had been that of his fortune.

*James* King of *Scotland*, the first of the Family of the *Stuarts*, was killed in his Royal Palace, by Men in Visards: *Asella* his Successor, was shot by a piece of Artillery which  
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was a scouring: the third was slain by his Son, in a Battle at *Larlin*; and this paracide by the English; and the fifth was poisoned, as if all that Race had been Heirs to *James's* misfortune, as well as his Crown.

*Pompey*, having taken *Sylla's* party, during the Civil Wars of *Rome*, did not only win the favor of his General, but he acquired besides the love of the Souldiers, and was no less respected by strangers, then by the *Roman* Legions; he retook *Sicilia*; he restored *Mas-  
sissa* in *Numedia*, which had been usurped from him by *Hyarbus*; he was honored three times with the pomp of a Triumph, and caused *Lepidus* to retire out of *Italy*, before he was yet considerable by his power, or by his offices. He worsted *Domitius* in *Africa*, vanquish't *Sertorius* in *Spain*, conquered all *Asia* in forty days, he submitted *Tigranus* to his power, and forced *Mithridates* to kill himself, because he would not submit. He passed on the north through the *Henochians*, the *Iberi-  
ans*, the *Albanians*, and the *Colchians* Countries, and on the east, against the *Arabians*, against the *Jews*, and against the *Parthians*. He was the first of the *Romans* that carried his Arms as far as the Coasts of the *Hircanian*, *Caspian*, *Red* and *Arabic* Seas; and was so absolute, that after *Crassus's* death, he commanded *Cesar* himself, to disband his Troops: but having been  
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Some time after vanquish'd by him, in the plain of *Pharsalia*, he was constrained to retire to *Ptolomeus*, in *Egypt*, and there to assure his life, because he could not assure his liberty, no where else. As he propos'd to see *Ptolomeus*, who was then in the City of *Pelusium*, where he warred against his Sister, and reading the Speech which he had compos'd, to congratulate that young Prince; some Souldiers saluting him, fell immediately upon him, and stabbed him in many places; after that, they cut off his Head, and threw his Body into the Sea, in his Son's and Wifes presence.

*Tatius*, having been too slow, to punish some of his Favorites, for killing some Ambassadors, which were sent from *Bizantium* to *Rome*, was murd'ered in the fifth year of his Reign, as he was offering Sacrifices in *Livinium*, and *Romulus*, who had always shared with him in the management of affairs, was tore in pieces by the Senators in the Temple of *Vulcan*, because he rendred the *Vejeans* their hostages, without acquainting them with it, and for having distributed the Countries he had Conquered to his Souldiers.

That great *Cesar*, whose Wisdom was no less then his courage, and whose Orations were as much admired as his Combats; after he had signalized his arms, and his name in *France*, in *Spain*, in *England*, in *Germany*,



in *Africa*, and in *Asia*, was assassinated by his friends, in the Senate, because he would have changed the Government of the Republic into a Monarchy. In fine, we see that a sick Man, though he is laid upon a straw bed, or upon a downie bed, still retains his maladie; That Men do not change their destiny, though they change their situation; That death meets them every where, and ventures in Palaces, and in Temples, as well as in Cottages and Battles.

C H A P. IV.

*Of those who have been unjustly and ungratefully dealt with, by those Republicks that they have faithfully served.*

**T** *Hemistocles* had reason to compare the *Athenians*, who often took ill the services of their greatest Captains, to Travellers, who, when it raineth, shelter themselves under Trees, but are wont to pull off their branches in fair weather. If we consider the ancientest Republicks, we shall find that those who laid the foundations of them, or those that have extended their limits, have not received more favor from them than Traytors; and that they have been punished for maintaining the

the Laws, as if they had endeavoured the violation, and the corruption of them. In making men happy, we create Ingratitude in them insensibly; there's scarcely a man but hath cause to complain against his Countrey, and that can hardly boast to have found the esteem in it that he deserved. We find ordinarily abroad with strangers; that which we are deprived of at home; and men cannot change their Fortune, except they change their Climate.

After *Lycurgus* had disciplin'd in Arms all the men of *Lacedemonia*, he had one of his eyes struck out with a blow, that young *Alcandre* gave him with a Stick, in a Sedition that was raised against him; and was so unfortunate, that he was forced to flee from *Sparta*, and end his dayes in *Elidia*; or, according to some other Writers, in *Candia*. As the *Spartians* had got great advantages by the precepts of this famous Lawgiver, they acquired also great glory by them; and having made themselves feared of all their Neighbors, they blockt up the *Messinians* soon after; but by reason that this War lasted along while, and that they had been ten years without seeing their Wives, they sent to them the youngest Soldiers of their Troops, with power to enjoy them, fearing that their Town would remain unpeopled. The Children that sprang from those Adulterers, shewed great proof of their strength and  
courage

courage on several occasions, and made it appear that they were no less the support and the hopes of their Parents, than their shame and confusion: But because they were not legitimate, and could not inherit the possessions of those who had given them their Beings, they chose a Head, whose name was *Polencus*, that they might purchase Heritages by their Conquests, and so get by their industry, that which they could not pretend to by their birth. They were fortunate enough to come to *Ponilla*, where they took *Tarente*, whose Inhabitants they drove out; and there lived in so much satisfaction, by the means of their Captain, that their happiness would have been equal with their first Ambition, had they not turned ungrateful, after they were turned free. As they perceived that *Polencus* was grieved with age, they grieved him with miseries, they banisht him out of *Tarente*, as an unprofitable Man, and not minding the services he had in time past done them, they considered only that he was not able to do them any. *Solom*, and *Aristides*, after that they had made the City of *Athens* famous, by their Precepts and Victories, were unjustly banisht thence; and that same *Themistocles*, who destroyed so many *Persians* at *Salamina*, for the *Athenians* cause, was persecuted by them with so much cruelty, that he saw himself forced to forward his own death

death by poison at *Magnesia*, although *Xerxes* proffered him Men enough, to make his vengeance terrible to all *Greece*.

*Alcibiades*, who from his Fathers side, descended from the blood of *Ajax*, and who was one of the most eloquent in his time, according to *Demosthenes*, and *Theophrastus*, had won the first, second, and the fourth *Olimpick* sports, and had drawn no less love to himself by his actions, then by his good features; for all that he was banisht by his Citizens, and his misfortune was so great, that having sheltered himself with *Pharnabazus*, in *Phrigia*, that Kings Uncle and his Brother, set his House on fire, and he was no sooner come out to avoid the flames, but he fell amongst the Swords, and amongst the darts of those barbarous men.

During the War, the *Carthagineans* made use of all their good language, and all their submissions to perswade their Captains, that they ought to prefer the interest of the State to theirs; yet in time of peace, as *Diodorus* relates, they forgot their services, least they should have been obliged to recompence them, and holding no Man guiltless that they suspected, they imagined that power and vice were ever inseparable. That was the reason that after *Hannibal* had been worsted by *Scipio*, he hoisted up sail for *Bithinia*; but of *Flami-*

*nus*,

nine, who was the *Romans* Deputy, to reconcile *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, with King *Prussias*, executed his Commissions so well, that this last agreed to deliver up *Hanibal*, who to avoid falling in his Enemies hands, caused himself to be hanged, by one of his servants, according to some writers.

*Plantulus*, a Roman Knight, died in banishment, after he had born Arms a long while for the liberty of *Rome*, against the youngest of the *Gracchus's*, and *Servicius* was punished with the same confusion, because he kill'd *Spurius Melius*, who aspired to Tyranny.

After *Scipio* had defeated *Hannibal*, subdued *Spain*, burnt *Syphax*, and *Asdrubals* Camp, and vanquish'd the *Carthaginians*, he felt, as others, the ingratitude of his Country. This great man, whom the *Romans* had revered so far, as to choose him Prince of the Senate, was constrained by it, to absent himself, and renounce to the publick, acknowledgments that were due to him for the Victories he had won for them.

The little *Affrican* was no happier then him, though he made an end of the ruine of *Carthage* and *Numance*, he was smothered in his sleep, and the third named *Nasica*, who was Chief Priest, dyed in banishment, near *Pergamus*, because he had dipt his hands in the blood of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who was looked upon

on by every one, to be an Enemy of the Republick. The *Venetians* tore in pieces their Duke, *Orse'd' Heracleus*; they pulled out *Theodatus Galla*, his Successor, and *Dominique Mongarius's* their eyes; with their Wives and Children, and forced *Memo* to turn Monk. They had no more respect for *Otho*, *Peter Verjeol's* Son, and not considering that he had ruined in their cause, and for their glory the City of *Adria*, and had submitted to them all the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Seas, they banisht him into *Greece*, and suffered *Dominicus Flabornic*, to expel his Parents and Kindred, and to make a Law to deprive them of the dignity of Dukes. *Francis Foscorius*, who enlarged their State, was banisht thence without any apparent reason, and indeed, they could not find any, but their excuse was, that he was too old, as if old age, which is venerated in all other places, had been amongst them, counted a crime. The least faults of the Kings of *Scotland*, have been so cruelly punished by their Subjects, that they have murdered above forty, without consideration of their power, or their character; and if we should examine the ancient, as well as the modern Histories, we should see, by an infinite number of examples, that the greatest men have never been nearer their ruine, than when they have gone to preserve their States and Republicks; That  
the

the greatest Debts, make the greatest Enemies; and that clemency hath as often cast men into dangers, as cruelty.

CHAP. V.

Of those that dyed by strange Accidents.

Fortune sleeps with us in our beds, she embarks with us to sea, she accompanies us in our Voyages, she followeth us where-soever our affairs and our curiosity calls us, and that invisible Enemy, makes Men suffer, as many evils as they fear. She is blind towards great men, as well as towards the Mechanicks; she persecutes those that are upon Thrones, as well as those that are upon the dunghill; and favors those no more, that dedicate Temples to her, than those that asperse her with exclamations. 'Tis in this place chiefly, that by her various effects, we shall observe her changes, and caprices, and that we shall see, by the sequel of Histories different one from another, that the most potent have been most unhappy, and that there are some productions of hers, against which courage and prudence do but strive in vain. Zoroastes, King of Bactria, Campanus at the War of Thebes; Claudius the Pretor at Terracine; Aste-

rus King of the *Eleans*, in *Ethiopia*; *Tullus Hostilius*, King of the *Romans*; *Pompeius Strabo* Proconsul; *Octavius Augustus*, *Cæsars* Father; *Athanasius*, and *Carnus*, Emperors of *Rome*; *Philegius*, King of the *Orchomeniens*; and *Salmonius*, King of *Eluder*, were killed by thunder. The Emperor *Jovian*, was smothered with smoak, and that scourge of God *Attila*, with his own blood that fell from his head into his throat. *Milo*, Duke of *Calabria*, was devoured by wild beasts. *Basil*, the thirty fifth Emperor of *Constantinople*, was killed by a Stag. *Fercard* King of *Scotland*, was bit by a Wolf, of which he died; and *Artolph*, King of the *Lombards*, and *Facillia Pelagus*s Son, King of *Portugal*, by a wild Boar, of which they died likewise. As *Falco* King of *Jerusalem* hunted a Hare, he fell so heavily from his horse, that he broke his neck; and *Philip*, Son to *Lewis* the *Burly*; one *William* King of *Scotland*, and *Cypius* King of *Poland*, dyed of the same death.

In the time of *Charles* the sixth, King of *France*, *Charles* King of *Navarre*, expired in dreadful Torments; and a man may doubt with reason, whether the rage of Tyrants, ever invented any thing more cruel. As he was already stricken in years, the Doctors ordered him to be wrap'd in a sheet dip't in strong

water



water, to repair in some manner, his natural heat, which was decayed in him; but as he that sowed him up in it, put his thred to the flame of the candle, for this was done in the night, a spark fell upon the sheet, which took fire immediately, whatsoever remedy men could find, could do no good; and he could never receive any assistance by his attendants; the force of the fire was greater, than their diligence and industry; and this Prince after incredible groans, that lasted three days, gave up the Ghost in that misery. *Senacherus* King of the *Goths*, was struck so terribly with a bridle, by a Groom, that he fell down dead at the feet of that Paricide; and *Charles*, Son to *Charles the Bald*, trying his skill of Wrestling with *Ambinus*, who knew him not, and who was counted the strongest man of his age, was thrown dead all along. *Romanus Argyropilus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, was drowned in a Bath; by the malice of *Zoea* his Wife, and of *Michael Paphlagonia*, her lover. *Cladomirus*, King of *Aquitain*, caused his Sister, and his Nephew to expire in a pit. *Jugo*, Duke of *Normandy*, dyed under the Ice; and *Sforus Attendullus* drowned himself, thinking to save one of his Favorites lifes. *Antheonor*, King of the *French*, fell most unfortunately under a Bridge, loaden with the spoil of the *Gaules*, whom he had triumphed over; and

*Asepio*, Pompey's Brother, who had been a Pirate above twenty years, drowned himself in a Well. A King of England's Children, *William*, *Henry*, and *Sybil*, were swallowed up by the waves, as well as *Clo dius Marcellus*, who was Consul three times; and we read, that King *Ericha* drowned himself in the red sea; *Tireunus* King of *Libia*, in the Mediterranean; and that the death of the Emperor *Decius*, of the Emperor *Frederick*, of *Mexancia*, of *Lewis* the second, King of *Hungaria*, and of many others, as considerable by their Fortune, as by their Birth, was neither easier nor more glorious. *Constantine Capronimus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*; and *Baldwin* died of Leprosy. *Herod Arnul*, the Emperor, *Charlemains* natural Son; *Acastus*, *Pelias's* Son; *Calisthenes*, the *Olimbian*; *Sylla*, *Clement* the seventh; and *Philip* the second King of *Spain*, were eaten up with Lice; *Hatton*, Duke of *Francia*, *Wilcerof*, alias *Wilderad*, Bishop of *Strasburg*, and *Popiel* King of *Poland*, were devoured with Rats; *Manpritus* King of *England* by Wolves, according to *Polidore Virgil*, and the Huntsman *Acteon*, by Dogs, if it be not a Fable mixt with History. *Hercules* was poisoned with a shirt; *Laodislaus*, King of *Bohemia*, with an Apple; *Guido*, Duke of *Urbis*, with a gillyflower; and *Otho* the third, Emperor, with a pair of Gloves, that his Enemy *Creceancius's* Wife gave him.

*Spurins*

*Spurius Sanefius*, was choaked with an Egg, which he went to eat coming out of a Bath; Pope *Adrian* the fourth with a butterfly, which was in the Fountain in which he drank, in *Germany*; the Pretor *Fabius* with an hair, drinking some milk; the young *Drusus*, *Claudius* *Cæsars* Son, with an Apple, that he had thrown up to catch it in his mouth; and *Andebout*, King of *England*, with his gourmandising. *Pausanias*, the *Lacedemonians* General; *Mitrius* of *Verona*; *Jugurtha* King of *Numedia*, and *Benet* the sixth, were starved to death; and *Promuchus* killed himself with drinking. *Drusus*, in *Tiberius's* time, eat the very hair that his bed was stuffed with; *Casimir* the second King of *Poland* died at a Banquet drinking; and *George*, *Edward* the fourths Brother, seeing himself in a necessity to receive death, waited for it in a butt of *Malmsey*. *Eupolis*, *Niceas's* Son, the *Athenians* General, was crusht to death under the ruine of a House, the first night of his Marriage; Pope *John* the one and twentieth, was buried in those of a Chamber at *Viterbe*; *Bruno*, Bishop of *Wisbourg*, and *Allemanus*, died by the fall of a Ceiling; and *Pyrrhus*, King of the *Epirotes*, and the good *Drusus*, were knocked on the head with a tile that fell by chance upon their heads, when they thought least of it; the one be-

fore *Argines*, and the other at *Rome*, as he did in Triumph.

*Oza* King of *Israel*, was crushed to death with a Chariot wheel, in the midst of a great ceremony; *Abimelech*, with a piece of a mill-stone, that an old woman flung upon him, when he thought to storme *Thebes*; and *Alexander*, with the Statue of *Nicon*, who won so many Battles, that he got to the number of one hundred and fourteen Crowns. A Duke of *Britanny*, and *Constantin Paleologue* were smothered in a crowd of people, the one at *Avignon*, at the entry of Pope *Clement* the sixth, and the other going out of *Constantinople*; *Fohn* the seventh with a pillow; *Najam*, *Cublay's* Nephew, Emperor of the *Tartars*, in a piece of cloth; and *Tiberius* with Blankets. But let us see now, if the most innocent of our passions, is not sometimes the most cruel; if our good fortune should not make us tremble, and if death doth not come to us with joy.

## CHAP. VI.

Of those that died with joy, or sudden death.

**M***Arcus Juventius Talva*, Consul, reading in the Isle of *Corfus*, which he had Conquered, the Letters which the Senate writ to him, was so overjoyed, that they had ordered public procession to solemnize his victories, that he fell down dead, when he was going to thank the gods for his happiness, and good success. After the loss of the *Romans* at *Trasimene*, all the Ladies went to the gates of their City, to receive all them that had escaped that defeat, and to rejoyce, or to mourn for their deliverance and their wounds; one of them above all the rest, appeared with despair in her face; she tore her hair off her head, she filled the air with her complaints, and shewed by all her actions, the heaviness of her heart, and the weakness of her sex; she was misinformed that her Son had done in this expedition, all that a man could do for his glory, and his Country; but that his misfortune had proved inevitable, and that at last he expired upon a heap of enemies, whom he had slain with his own hands. This news smothered not the tenderness she had for him, her wound was too

sensible and too great, to be cured by words, and her grief was no greater, than in the remedies that they applied to comfort her; in these deplorable torments and sighs, she went her way, and met her Son not long after, she run to salute him, and as she embraced him, she expired insensibly in his arms, and found death in her joy, which before she could not find in her griefs.

*Tullia*, knowing that his Son, who commanded a Legion in this same War, was returning with those that escaped, fell down dead, thinking to receive him: so that his caresses were not so soon ended as his life. When *Diligenes*, General of the *Eriteans* Forces, besieged vigourously the City of *Naxis*, *Policrites* charmed him so by her fine language, and her beauty, that he was constrained to raise the Siege, and to grant to the Prayers of that admirable Woman, that which he was resolved to refuse to pitty and justice. This good fortune which surprised the Inhabitants of *Naxis*, obliged them to follow her soon after, with acclamations and praises, as the mother of the people; and this Lady was so overjoyed of that honor, that she died in the midst of that glory. *Sophocles*, already stricken in years, disputing with some Poets, who by the loss of his reputation would raise theirs, was so overjoyed, to see that his Judges, after they had

had examined the Tragedy he had composed, gave him the prize, which he did not promise himself, that it was impossible for him to survive that felicity; and *Chilon* having gotten the same advantage over his companions, fell down dead at the feet of those that brought him tidings of it.

*Sprensippus*, a Platonick Philosopher, *Cornelius Gallus* Pretor; *Titus Atherius*, a Roman Knight; two others in *Plineys* time; and *Lewis of Gonzagus*, dyed with pleasure in their Mistresses arms. That *Xenxis*, who deceived his birds so artificially, by Grapes that were produced by his pencil, and who caused admiration by the Pictures of *Venus* and *Penelope*, after he had drawn the picture of an old woman, found it so silly, that he fell in a laughter, which never ceased but with his life. *Philemon* the Poet, seeing an *As* that drew near a table to eat figgs, dyed in the same manner; and *Philistion* having taken too great delight in the Wit of a Satire, which he had made against one of his enemies, dyed of the spleen. *Leo* the tenth, fell in such a violent Fever, hearing of the disorder of *Francis* the first, whom he hated, that he lived but three days after the news of it; and *Diogoras* of *Rhodes*, *Athletes Crotomentes*, *Clio*, *Telon*, and *Dennis* the Tyrant, died after the same manner; *Ar-*

*monius*

*monius* breathed his last in his pipe he plaid on, if we may believe *Lucian*, and we may find in a Chronicle of *Streganus*, that one *Isabella* Queen of *France*, died with pleasure.

Two of the *Cæsars* died suddenly, one at *Rome*, and the other at *Pifus*; and *Fabius Maximus*, *Cajus Vulcanns Turgeus* Senator; *Bebius Pamphilus*, *Æmilius Lepidus*, and *Servilius Pensæ*, fell down dead without any apparent distemper. The same misfortune happened to *Terentius Corax*, when he was writing to the Senate; to the Poet *Pindareus*, when he was recreating himself by the sight of some publick Plays; and to a *Roman* King, who in *Phineas* time, when he was discoursing privately with a Consul, before the Ivory Image of *Apollo*. *Cajus Julius* a Phisitian, was seen to expire rubbing one of his eyes; *Apianus Sanseius*, in taking of an egg; *Lucius Durinus Valla*, in taking Wine mixt with honey; and *Manlius Torquatus*, as he was striving to take a Cake; *Publius Quintus Scapula*; *Osilus Hilarius* the player; and *Decimus Sanseius*, died so insensibly, in feasting with their friends, that it seemed sleep had rather closed their eyes then death, and that they had more need to be laid upon beds, then in graves; life failed almost as soon to the young Prince of *Foix*, as his heart, when they gave him  
to



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to wash; and *Phillipidus*, who was the first man that encouraged the *Athenians*, who trembled for the success of the Battle of *Marathon*, fell on the ground as he was relating to them the news of their Victory. This is enough to make us conclude, that *Seneca* hath not reproved *Virgil* so judiciously, as men perswade themselves, because he termed pleasures, the evil joys of the Soul, since there be some so fatal, and this may be the reason the *Stoicks* would not have a wise Man subject to passions, that so avoiding their slavery, he might not be that of fortune:

CHAP.

## C H A P. VII.

*Of them who have had but short Reigns.*

**T**Hose that are persuaded that obedience is in all places shameful, say openly, That true Felicity seems to be inclosed in Crowns, and who hath nothing at his command, hath alwayes cause to complain. But if it be true, That whosoever is not absolute, is not happy; and if independency is, in effect, the greatest of all goods, we must confess that it is often but of a short continuance, and that it is almost as soon snatcht from men as it is bestowed. In their opinion *Galba* had but seven months of happiness in all his life, because he Reigned no longer; for Fortune revenged her self of him, for his taking away from about the neck of her Statue, a golden Chain, from which she drew her greatest glory. *Vitellius* was unworthily murdered soon after he had attained to the Empire; and *Pertinax*, six months after he had commanded it, was assassinated by his Soldiers; and, according to some Writers, by his own Guards. The Emperor *Tacitus* did not taste his Felicity so long; and *Constantine*, *Heraclius's* son, had not sat upon the Throne one year, but he was poisoned by *Martina* his Mother-in-law. This ambitious Woman, who  
to

to make sure the Sovereignty to her son *Heraclonas*, neither considered her reputation, nor her crime, was a great deal less happy, because she had not governed the Empire two months, but the Senate, when the mothers tongue was cut out, and the childs nose off, pulled them both down shamefully from the Throne.

*Otho*, the third month of his Reign, was forced to take Arms against himself; to renounce all at once to his life, and the pleasure of commanding; and to prefer to his ambition the good of all his Subjects. *Emilian*, who slew *Gallus*, and *Valentine* kept the Throne no longer, and *Decius Julianus*, and *Florin*, lost their Lives miserably, two months after their Coronation. *Silvanus* bore the name of Emperor but a month; *Quintilius Claudius's* brother, according to *Bocace*, Reigned but 17 dayes; *Marcus* who was chosen Emperor in *Gauls*, after *Posthumius's* death, was so but two dayes; and young *Edward V.* King of *England*, by the malice of his Uncle *Richard*, had not so much time as to consider his Crown.

Amongst the Popes, *John V.* *John XVIII.* *Agapit*, *Constantine II.* *Adrian III.* and many others, have not kept the seat above a Twelvemonth. *Benet X.* expired the ninth month of his Pontificate. *Leo VI.* dyed the seventh of his. *Romain*, the third. *Stephen IX.* the sixth of his, *Bennit V.* Reigned but two:  
And

And *Silvester III.* did not Reign so long as this last. *Gregory VIII.* but 50 dayes. *Valentine II.* and *Leo V.* but Forty. *Damascus II.* but twenty three. *Theodorus II.* dyed the 20th day of his Election. And *Sosinus*, and *Celestin IV.* the 18th of theirs. I will not speak of young *Leo*, of *Philippicus Bardanus*, of *Artemius Anastasius*, of *Leo Porphyrogenitus*, of *Alexander Basil's* son, of *Michael Calaphat* of *Loez*, of *Theodorus*, of *Eudoxe*, nor of many besides, whose Reigns the Latin and Greek Historians have treated of. These Examples shall suffice to give notice to the Reader, that there is no more rest upon Thrones, than elsewhere; and that in all cases, Men are no security from Death nor Destiny upon them.

## C H A P. VIII.

## Of the Misfortune of Flatterers or Favourites.

**T**He question being asked of *Bias*, Which of all Animals was the worst? Of the wild one, said he, that which is most tyrannous; and of the tame ones, the flatterer: In effect, if we examine narrowly these dissemblers, we shall find that they are Camelions of all colours, Weather-cocks, Spirits of any shape, and Matters of all Forms. They are like the *Eccho*, that sings when men sing, and groans when we sigh. If the Prince under whom these unhappy men live, is cruel, they feed him with humane blood, as *Vedens Polians*, *Lampreis*. If he loveth revenge, they will still make him more bloody than the Emperor *Commodus*, who commanded the Prevost of Rome to cut the Throats of a whole Assembly of Spectators in a Theatre, that were no less in number than 60000, for daring to laugh at him, when he play'd a Gladiators part; and if he be superstitious and timerous, they will immediately bring before him the example of the Emperor *Claudius*, who put to death two Roman Knights that were brothers, because of a dream

dream which he thought had an ill interpretation.

With them the dull and heavy are counted wise, the Usurper a Conqueror, the Hypocrite godly, the Covetous saving, the Hasty valiant, and the Wasteful liberal. As Superficies and Lines cannot of their own accord bend and move, nor extend themselves, yet with the motion of those bodies of which they are extremes, they easily move; *Flatterers likewise, saith Plutarch, do not act by their own motion, but they alwayes follow that of another body.* The humour of the Princes, to which their interest tyeth them, becomes their inclination; if they have no passion for virtue, these men abhor it; and if their Masters are soft and voluptuous, they are alwayes found ready to crown Vice, in what manner soever. They make it their divertisement, and their glory, to spit Flies with *Domitian*, to catch Fish with *Arsacides*, King of *Bactria*, and Moles with *Hartaban*, King of *Hircania*; to sowe Frogs together with *Biantus*, King of the *Lydians*; and to make Lamps with *Æropus*, King of *Macedonia*. They become Coachmen and Harpers with *Nero*; they curry the Horses with *Aras*, King of *Tartaria*; imitate Pigs with *Parmenio*; and the screeking of Well-wheels and Pullies with *Theodorus*. If they follow *Agathon*, they come forth

forth in publick, cloathed in Fox skins; and cloath themselves with those of Lyons, if they come in *Dion* the *Prussians* presence. If they happen to be with *Wenceslaus*, King of *Bohemia*, they will be gladder to go bare-foot through Ice and Snow, than amongst Roses. And they will catch cold purposely to sing before King *Archeslaus*, who fancied that hoarse voices composed the most agreeable harmony. They will make themselves wounds to appear before *Mithridates*, who took upon him to be a Chyrurgion; and will become Limners under *Adrians* Empire, who took a great pride in drawing of *Pompkins*. They will rub one against another in *Denys's* Palace, to make him believe that they are all short-sighted as he is, or else will strow Sand in his Chambers, to draw, as he did, Geometrical Figures; and if this day there were any *Samsons*, *Achilles* and *Hercules* to be found, you would see them a kissing with *Dalilah*, sowing with *Briſeis*, and spin with *Dejanira*.

It is not only in great mens houles that these Rats creep, they find a passage everywhere, they have found Entries in Academies as well as in Courts; for as *Alexanders* Favourites endeavoured to bend their necks a little, that they might resemble him in something, the Disciples of *Plato* did also endeavour to imitate his high shoulders, those of *Aristotle* his stutterings, and those

those of *Pontius Latro*, to look pale like him, drank Beverege, though his want of colour, as well as that of *Lenon*, proceeded not so much from his indisposition, as from studying.

If Complacency was the greatest hurt in Flatterers, it would be at least the more inexcusable; but their baseness reacheth much farther, and their humor is much more dangerous than their conversation. They adore Men in their prosperity, because they benefit by it, and forsake them in adversity, like vermine that leave the dead, because they find no more blood upon which they use to feed; for all they know that good nature is alwayes esteemed even in dumb creatures, yet they would look upon themselves to be greater Brutes than them, if they should go about to relieve their necessity, whose plenty they lived upon before; and cannot apprehend that there's any more merit in helping the unfortunate, than in avoiding them. They seem to be descended from those men that adore the Sun at its rising, but shoot arrows at it when it sets. And indeed they are but like Swallows, which seek the Springs and Birds of prey, which follow after their food, and not like men. But now we must look upon their Misfortune, as well as upon their Lives, and examine if those have had the better Fortunes, that have had the most credit.

*Hero-*



*Herodian* relates, that *Cleander* of *Phrygia*, having been preferred in the house of *Commodus*, by *Marcus Aurelius*, became, of a Slave, Captain of the Emperors Guards, and after that Chamberlain of the Emperors Household, and afterwards Colonel in the Army, and some time after that the greatest and most potent man in the Empire: but as Ambition is most commonly like Choler, which hath no consideration in its Enterprizes, and hearkneth neither to reason that counsels it, nor the obstacles that can withstand it; *Cleander* having lost that slavish humor, as he had lost the condition of one, thought upon nothing else, but on the means to assure himself of the Crown; and to become Master of him, whose Creature he had been. And to execute his design most conveniently, he made a great Park for publick Exercises and Baths, where every man had liberty to come and wash; bestowed great gifts upon the common people, and made great promises to the Nobility, and did all that lay in his power, to make himself pass in the fancy of men, the most courteous, and most liberal of any living, and that he had all the good qualities requir'd in a King, had he had the Title. But the *Romans* had no sooner discover'd his ambition, but they gather'd in great crowds to the Theatre, beset him in his Palace, and caused the Emperor to cut off his head. *Com-*

*modus* put to death before that time *Perennis*, who had gotten power to make his Sons heads of the Armies which were in *Illiria*, and who by the death of *Paternus*, had so advanc'd his Credit and Fortune, that he manag'd all Affairs, whil'st that unclean Emperor rested in the arms of 300 young boys, and as many women, the handsomest and most voluptuous he could find in *Rome*. That same Prince, who had nothing worthy of his Title, but the honour he had to be *Marcus Aurelius's* son, saw with regret, the death of his Favourite *Saeterns*, who was kill'd in his Gardens, by some Colonels of the Guard, when they pretended to accompany him with respect to the Sacrifices:

*Prexases*, whom *Cambyfes* loved with a great deal of reason, being grown bold enough, as to take the liberty to tell him, that the Wine he drank in profusion, dishonor'd his servants; and that his private Enemies were glad to find that occasion to ground their greatest insolences, found shortly after how dangerous it is to reprove Princes of their imperfections, and how it is necessary not to affect virtue too much with Tyranny. That thou may'st know, replied *Cambyfes*, that the excess of Wine doth not trouble me, and that the Vice that thou chargest me withall, never deprived me of my senses, I will give thee a certain proof, and make thee confess, that th'se that look upon my actions, had better admire,

*swire, than reprove them.* *Cambyfes* then began to drink with excess, commanded *Prexases* son to go stand at the door of a large Room, and to hold his left hand upon his head. The Child obey'd his Princes command, who took a Bowe, and shot him through the heart, with the first Arrow that he shot at him; he caused his breast to be opened, takes himself the point of the Arrow, and shewing *Prexases* how just in the middle of his Childs heart he had shot, *See*, said he, *whether I have an eaven hand, if I see clear, and if I lose my reason by my debauches?* Did not *Alexander* put to death *Philotas* and *Parmenion*, whom he had loved so tenderly? And did he not kill with his own hand *Clittus*, that had so generously serv'd him in all his Enterprizes, and had sav'd his life it self, when he pass'd over *Granicus*, and fought with *Roesalus* and *Spithridatus*, the two chief Commanders of *Persia*? *Tiberius* put to a cruel death *Quintilius*, *Varus*, *Pison*, *Germanicus*, and *Drusus*, who were all of them his Collegues in the Consulate; and *Sejans* body having been left to the mercy of Executioners, was dragged three days together through the streets, and afterwards thrown into *Tyber*, by the command of that Emperor who had before exalted him so high, that the most considerable persons in *Rome*, for the space of 16 years, had been forc'd to court his slaves that kept his gates. *Adrian*

put *Nepos* to death, and *Septicius Clarus*, *Eudemus*, *Bollemus*, *Marcellus*, *Numidius*, *Quadratus*, *Catilius*, *Severus*, and *Turbon*, though he had shewed them all either out of love or policy, that they were all very considerable to him: And *Vespasian* had no sooner honour'd his Courtiers, by bestowing great Offices upon them, but he caused them to be poysoned as soon as they had advantaged themselves, that so they might be termed the Emperors Sponges, that were no sooner full, but he squeez'd them. *Artaxerxes*, led by the ill counsel of his mother, caused *Mithridates*'s face to be daubed over with Honey dissolv'd in Milk, and having plac'd him just opposite to the Sun-beams, bestow'd so much labour to order him, that he caused the Flies and the Worms, which gendred of the corruption of his body, to eat him up, though this famous Courtier was guilty of nothing, but that his services nor his innocence could not please the Queen. *Caligula*, who loved *Ptolomey* passionately, put him to death notwithstanding, because that young Prince waiting upon him once at the Theatre, had drawn the sight of the Spectators upon him, by the glory of his Robe: And *Nero*, that scourge of *Rome*, and Monster of Nature, made *Corbulo* run his Sword through his own body, though he was wont to call him Father and Benefactor, and that he was the valiantest and most

most moderate person of his age. *Ibrahim Bassa's* Fortune was so great, that it surprized the very Author of it: *Solyman* was afraid of his own courage; and seeing his Favourite so much respected, he was obliged to break the resolution he had taken never to put him to death; and to cause his Throat to be cut by an Eunuch, whilst he slept, to make sure by this Perjury the continuance of his Reign, and the quiet of his mind. *David Rix* of *Savoys*, was stabbed by *George Douglas* in *Scotland*, as *Bucanan* relates, though he was there very considerable, and that of Singing-master he was become a Queens Favourite; and that by the goodness of his voice he had the government of that Princess. I could speak of many more, if I thought that the Reader was not persuaded, That the Grandeurs of the World are perishable; that their lustre is dangerous and fatal; and that those that trust in Princes Favors, often build their felicity upon a meer *Chimera*.

T 4

CHAP.

## C H A P. IX.

Of the mischiefs that have hapned to the  
adventurers in Tournois.

**T**He *Greeks* had in time past their *Gimnick* sports, to keep their young mens hands in actions, and those that had signalised themselves in them, were so much the more considered, by applauses and recompences. The course of Chariots and Horses, was in use with the *Romans*, to exercise their youths, and make them the more active, in those combats which required all their force and agility, for the preservation of their Republick; the first had besides *Pirrick* plays, in which young men danced in arms, and fought severally, to honor persons of qualities Nuptials, and the others had *Angaries*, or military schools, as *Hegeffus* writes, wherein their Children were tutored betimes, in all those things that might advance their glory. They had *Classes* or *Basilicks*, that is to say, great Auditories and Halls, where they learnt to fight on foot and on horseback, to swim, to make use of their shields, to dart a lance, to bend a bowe, to cast stones, and to make trenches and Palisadoes; they were no sooner remarkable by their actions, but that they were listed in the

the Legions Roals, that they took the oath of Allegiance, and that they were markt upon the right arm, with these Characters, *M. R.* which signified *Militia Romana*, which ceremony they called, *The Military Sacrament*. But as all Nations altered in time their manner of fighting, they invented new sports and fitted them to their way of combats. *Tourneys* were invented then, and *Wolfin* would perswade us, that the Emperor *Henry* the first, had first that advantage, and that he brought them in credit, in the year 930. by the Councel of *Phillip* his Secretary, and of fifteen Lords and Knights, who laid the patterns of them, and who were minded to banish from them, by publick Laws, all Gentlemen that married in ignoble Families, and to forbid the entrance of them, to Blasphemers, Drunkards, Cowards, Adulterers, and Robbers, for all that we know, that the use of them is ancieuter with us; for in the year 870 *Charles* and *Lewis*, *Lewis* the *Meeks* Son, made a glorious *Tourney*, after they were agreed about their possessions, as *Nithard* remarked in his relation of these two Princes reconciliation; and that *English*, *German*s, *Saxons*, *Lombards*, and *French* Knights, made that spectacle magnificent, by their garbs, by their emulation, and by their activeness.

If we may believe the Emperor *Cantacufene*, in his first Book of *Andronicus's* life, we shall find

find that the *Savoyans*, and those of *Daulphina*  
*nee*, taught the use of them to the *Greeks*, when  
they accomponied to *Constantinople* the Em-  
press *Anne*, great *Amedus's* Daughter; and these  
Torneys were the greatest past-time at Nupti-  
als, at Coronations, and Christnings in *Eng-*  
*land*, *France*, *Spain*, and all other places of *Eu-*  
*rope*, when Princes and Kings kept open house,  
there they fought with blunted launces and  
swords; he was counted the valliantest and  
strongest, that remained last in the Tourney,  
and all of them had no other end, but his  
particular glory, the Ladies recreation, or their  
Soveraigns divertisement.

King *Philip* of *Valois* made many ordonnan-  
ces for those sports, and forbad expressly the  
entry of them to any Man of what dignity  
soever, that had spoken ill in any ways of the  
Catholick Faith; and to all them that could  
not prove their pedigree, from four Genera-  
tions at least. He admitted neither those who  
had falsified their Oath, nor those who had  
said any thing that could reach their Princes  
honor, nor him that had betrayed his Master,  
or had forsook him in a combat, that had turn-  
ed his back cowardly, that had caused some  
trouble and disorder in the Army, or that had  
struck his fellow souldier, by malice or ha-  
tred; he kept those out that had affronted any  
Lady, that had falsified their Arms, or those

of



of another, that had used any tyranny over poor Men, over the Fatherless and over the Widdows, that had revenged themselves by some unhandsome action, that had raised their rents, without the allowance of the Lord of their Mannor, that were convinced of Adultery, of Sodomy and Drunkeness, and would not permit so much as a Gentleman that lived by Marchandise and Traffick, or had married any Woman of low degree, to come there, nor those that did not appear in those assemblies when they were summoned. If any man was found there, that was convinced of any one of those crimes, he was punished according to the Laws; and shame was not his only punishment; his punishment was measured by his fault, and according as he was guilty, his brest and back plate, and head piece were taken from him, and sometimes broken; he was beaten with swords and rods; his horses girths were cut; and sometimes they made him ride a top the gate of the field, and crave aloud the mercy of the Ladies. Perjured persons, perfidious men, assassins, and cowards, were shamefully degraded of their Gentility and Knighthood; their horses tails were cut off upon a dunghil; their coat of arms and their head piece, were beaten in pieces with a hammer; and their coats of mail were torn off their backs; their sword and launce were broken

ken with the point downward; they pulled off their belts and their spurs; and to perceive how they were disgraced, read but the Theater of Honor, written by *Colombiere*, which may satisfy all those persons, that have any desire to know those ancient customs.

These divertisements were doubtless very agreeable, they were full of glory and majesty; there were in them both gallantry and activeness, and these fine spectacles were never defiled with blood. But when men came to fight at sharps, they became horrible sacrifices, death mixt it self in both parties, and nothing were seen in them but Funerals; Pope *Innocent* and *Eugenes*, were forced to forbid the use of them; and the Council of *Lateran*, under the Pontificat of *Alexander* the third, in the year 1180. to pronounce *Anathema* against all those desperate Men; *Innocent* the third condemned them, and in the year 1313. Pope *Clement* excommunicated all those obstinate murtherers; but Laws, Excommunications, and Bulls, were without effect; the prohibition of them, made Men use them the more, and there was seen nothing else, in most part of *Europe*, but Declarations and Ordonnances, to summon men to kill one another openly. But we must see some examples of it; and since I have not hitherto thought it a material point, to follow the order of times and

and persons, it is not amiss to begin with Count *Geoffry*, surnamed *Plantaginet*, the Princes *Mathilds* Husband, who was the King of *Englands* Daughter, Duke of *Normandy*, and the first of that name, eldest Son to *Foulque*, Earl of *Anjou*, of *Touraine*, and of *Maine*, who was since King of *Jerusalem*, because he had married King *Baldwin* the seconds Daughter. A while after that, *Foulque* was gone for *Jerusalem*, this *Geoffry* made a Tournay upon the top of *St. Michels Mount* in *Normandy*, between the *English* and the *Normands*, where the Earl of *Flanders*, *Thybaut* Earl of *Blois*, and *Stephen*, Earl of *Mortaign* came, who were all the King of *Englands*, *Henry* the first's Nephews, who sided with the *Normans*; but when *Geoffry* saw that the number of the *English* was the smallest, he took the weakest party, and those of his retinue.

The first shock was terrible, their ashens flew in pieces presently, and so they all took to their Swords, which they broke too, or turned their edges upon the arms of their Enemies; and their Horses frightened with shouts, with the sound of Trumpets, and the clashing of arms, ran away with them, after they had tore their reins; *Geoffry* made use of all his force and courage against the *Normans*, he ran at some with tilts, killed some, and unhorsed others, he cleared afterwards the ranks with

with his Sword, and perceiving that his party was not the most fortunate, he encouraged them by his actions and his words, and laid on never a blow but it proved a murder; the *Normans* seeing that horrible spectacle, fled, and forsook the career; least it should have proved their burying place; and trusting upon the strength and terrible bigness of a Giant, who was come from beyond sea, at the report of these Tournays, they defied them again, and obliged him to ingage him in a single combat; the sight of that monstrous Man, daunted all the English, who imagined that nature had gathered together the strength of several men in one, and that there was no speedier nor surer way to dye, then to fight him. *Geoffry* knowing that valor was not measured by the bigness of a Man, takes horse again, takes his launce, and sustains the violence of the Giant, who, with the first blow he laid on, split his cuirass asunder, and struck him so home, that his blood followed the blow; the Earl for all that, kept his horse, very resolutely, and in a just resentment, dismounted his Enemy at the first attack, leap'd off his horse, and flew upon him with so much impetuosity, that he cut his Head off, after he had pulled off his head piece, before the Giant had time to recover the amazement; he was in by the fall.

*William of Nangis*, a Frier of *St. Denys* in  
France

France, relates, That King Philip, Son and Successor to St. Lewis, King of France, did express, by a Tourney, the joy he had for the return of Charles Duke of Anjou, Prince of Salerna, in the year 1279. and that there came to it, one of the first Princes of the blood, whose arms were so heavy, and who received so many wounds, that it was a wonder he did come off alive, Mathew Paris, saith, that there was a cruel Tourney between the English and the French, in the year 1270. when King Richard and Philip, King of France, were in Sicilia, taking their rest with their Armies, and that it was the cause of the division, that their interest was divided, and that they disputed the power between them, of making a King of Jerusalem, because Philip favored the Marquis of Monferrat, and Richard, Guy of Lusignan, to whom he had sold the Isle of Cyprus; the same Author speaks of another Tourney that was at London, betwixt the English and the French, sometime before Lewis of France, Philips Son, was crowned King of England, in the year 1216. and saith, that many English Knights died in it, and that Count Geoffry of Mandeville, expired sometime after, with a wound he received in the justs at Hertford, in the year 1241. the Earl Marshal Gilbert, dyed under his horse that fell upon him in a Tourney, and many Knights were killed and

and wounded there, with Clubs and Swords. A Duke of *Albania* was killed in *France*, by such another ceremony, as *Octavian* of *Saint Gelais* relates in his Garden of Honor; and under *Charles* the sixth Reign, there was a Tournay in the City of *Arras*, in the Duke of *Bourgognes* presence, betwixt five French Knights, and five of that Cotintrey, only for the glory of their Nations, and their Arms; *Theodorus* of *Falperge*, *Pothon* of *Saintrailles*, *Philibert* of *Abrecy*, *William* of *Bez* and the Standard of *Nully*, were for *France*, and *Simon Allain*, *Peter Beaufrimont*, *John Vandray*, *Nicholas* and *Philibert* of *Menthon*, were for the *Bourgonians*; the Lances were served to the French, by *Alardin* Knight, and to the other, by Sir *John* of *Luxenburg*; and the combat was fought with sharp Swords in a Park, covered with sand, that reached to the great market place, in the middle of which, there were double Lists, to keep the horses to run one against another, as they ran up and down; the Jousts lasted five days, and fate ordered it so, that there was but *Philibert* of *Abrecy*, and the Standard *Nully* wounded in the face. We read in Spanish History, that Don *John* of *Pimentel*, Count of *Majorga*, was in several Tournays, out of which he came always Victor; and afterwards thinking to come into *France*, he learnt that exercise, with an incredible

credible care, and especially the use of the Faulchion, or great Cimetar, to try himself against Forreign Nations, and first he had a mind to try his activeness with his Gentleman of the horse, whom he caused to equip himself, and received such a blow in the face by him, that he died a while after; and so the Gentleman saved his Master the labor of coming into *France*.

In the year 1500, there was a Tourney at sharps, between seven of Queen *Ann's* Gentlemen, and seven of *Lewis* the twelfth's King of *France* her Husband, the twelfth of *May*, when the Queen was returned out of *Burgundy*, where she had been Godmother to the Prince of *Oranges* Son; My Lord Infant of *Navarre*, the Count of *Foix's* Brother, and the Lords of *Avenna*, *Bonnevall*, *Rochepot*, *Barres*, *Verdusant*, and *Ravell*, were on the Kings side; and the Lords of *de la Roche*, of *Brittagnia*, of *Chastillon*, of *Fremetus* of *St. Amadour*, *Francis Cours*, *Maugeron*, and the young *Camicant*, were for the Queen. The King was upon a Scaffold, attended by the Earl of *Foix*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Earl of *Dunoy*, the Duke of *Albania*, the Marshals of *Rieux*, *Gia*, and other remarkable persons; and the Queen was upon an other, accompanied by the Princess of *Tarent*, the Countess of *Gayace*, *Mada-moiselle Candalle*, and by other Ladies, who

contributed much to the beauty of that great spectacle; the Infant of *Navarre* was hurt in the face; my Lord of *Chastillon* ran with such a force, that he left the point of his Launce in *Ravells* right Arm, and it was a miracle, that in this Combat, there were no mortal wounds.

In the year 1549. *Henry* the second King of *France*, made a famous Tourney at *Paris*, to grace his entry into it, with *Catherina* of *Medicis*, his Consort; and this fight was so much the pleasanter, because there was no mischief done; the King himself, and the Prince of *Vaudsme*, had the greatest glory in it. But another that he made after, for the celebrating the Nuptials of the Princess *Elizabeth*, his daughter, which he married to the King of *Spain*, and those of my Lady *Margaret* of *France*, her Sister, who was married to the Duke of *Savoy*, was much more terrible, and more fatal; he was the chief venturer, with *Francis* of *Lorraine*, Duke of *Guise*, and the Prince of *Ferrarat*, and resolved to try his skill with him for three days together, with Launce, Half-pike, and Sword; the King was Victor the first day, but the second, he put all *France* in Mourning, whatsoever intreaties the Queen made him, by the Duke of *Savoy*'s words, and those of my Lord *Montmorency*, his resolution had more power in him, than all the Counsel that was  
given



given him, and when he saw their instance, he sent word to the Queen by them, that he would run no more, when he had broke one Launce more; to be as good as his word, and to shew that he prophecyed by chance, he constrained the Earl of *Montgomery* to run, whatsoever excuse he could alledge, either out of fear, or by respect; and as *Montgomery* ran at him full tilt, his Launce flew in pieces; and a splinter flew in the Kings eye, who died of it eleven days after, the tenth of *July*, 1559. after he had lived two and forty years, and Reigned thirteen. These Tourneys ended most of them by the death of *Henry* the second, King of *France*. But other sports followed them, which if they had not all ceased, the World would not have been able to find Men for other slaughters, although all Men did not dye in them, and that they were Victories that were reapt, as one reaps fruit, without mischief. But those that follow in the next Chapter, were not complaisant enough, to yield to Philosophers, which have made clemency a great Vertue; they rather were of opinion, that it was a Vice to pardon, weakness to bear much, and that there was no difference between a mild Man and a Coward; they made Vertue for effeminate hearts, and Vices for great Souls; they have counted Murder for the highest Vertue, and have

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mistook Butchers for Heroes. Now we shall see that Fortune hath sided with some in their Quarrels, and in their Combats; and that she hath been much more ingenious and valiant, than strength and justice.

## CHAP. X.

### *Of the Misfortune of Duellists.*

There are few Combats like that of *Radiſlas*, against *S. Venceslas* King of *Bohemia*; and like that of *Ruy Paez* of *Viedna*, against *Rodrigus* of *Avilla*, who fought three days together without any advantage: Nature is not alwayes capable to produce ſuch great men, or rather the Heavens do not alwayes work their Miracles. Of all the Customs of People, there was never one ſo unjuſt in my opinion, nor ſo cruel; I marvel it hath paſt for a Law in times paſt, and even in our Fathers times. *Crantz*, in his ſecond Book of his History of *Saxony*, ſaith, That the firſt uſe of Duels is come from the *Danes*, in whoſe Countrey all the differences, both Civil and Criminal, were decided by; which Cuſtom was afterwards introduc'd into *Saxony*, and paſſed from the *Saxons* to the *Lombards*, and thence into *Gaules*. The King of *Burgundy* called *Gondebaut*, maintained ſtrongly that Cuſtom, grew ſo obſtinate in coun-

countenancing of it, (according to *Agobert*, Bishop of *Lyons*, in his Treatise of Duels) that the Ecclesiastick threatnings were not capable to divert him from it. There was not so much as Churchmen that refrained the use of it, saith an Author. And this Custom was generally received in our latter Ages, if we believe *Matthew Paris*, in his Book of King *Henry* the third's life. *Godfrey* a Bishop took it so ill, that *Peter* Bishop of *Xantus*, had permitted Duels to Churchmen, that he blam'd him in publick Libels: And we find that the Emperor *Frederick*, was Excommunicated at the Council of *Lyons*, by *Innocent IV.* because he constrained some Churchmen to use those deplorable extremities. *Abbots* and *Fryers* practised these horrible Cruelties, when their Titles about any thing that was due to them were not strong enough and authentick; and when they had to do with Persons of Quality, who refus'd to fight with them, for their lives, they had select men for that purpose, that they called *Abbots*, or *Clergy-Knights*, who fought in their vindication. The Emperor *Orbon*, ordered Church-differences to be decided by Duels, And *Turcket* remarkt in his History of *Spain*, that at the Council of *Basile*, the Bishops being assembled, lookt upon a combat between *John* of *Merle*, born in *Castile*, of *Portuguese* Parents, and *Henry Ramestan*, a *Bur-*

*gundian*, who was kill'd; that *John* of *Merle* was the same that had fought with the like success against the Lord of *Cheruy*, in the Town of *Arras*, in Duke *Philip's* presence.

*Roderick* of *Toledo*, in his Relation of *Spain*, speaks of a Combat which was no less strange. He saith that *Alphonsus* King of *France*, would have the *French* Liturgy used in *Spain*, by the counsel of *Constance* his Wife, and of *Richard* Abbot of *St. Victor* at *Marseilles*, which Pope *Gregory VII.* sent there to reform the Churches. The Clergy of *Toledo*, with the people, opposed it openly; and the King and Clergy agreed that this difference should be decided by a Combat. The Knight of the Kings side was worsted by that whom the Clergy had chosen; but *Alphonsus's* authority was such, that he obtained what he desir'd for all that; and then it was objected, that the power of Kings made the force of all the Laws fruitless, since they did what they pleased. If we do but look back upon former Ages, we shall read of Duels of very old date; and we shall read but few Authors which do not confirm the use of them by some Examples.

Before *Avarice* had sought for Mines in the Earth, and had found the art to sharpen Steel for the ruine of Nature, men made use of those Arms that they brought into the world, and fought at Fifty-cuffs, and tyed great knots

in

in Ropes, and knockt one another on the head with them. This kind of Arms was call'd *the Ceste of the Ancients*; and thus was *Jocus* kill'd by *Cleomedus*, and *Amicus*, the King of the *Bebricians* by *Polux*, because he would give him no passage, till he had tryed himself with this *Ceste* against some *Argonauts*. *Entellus* and *Dares* fight this way in *Virgil*, and the last of them causeth pity, to hear how he comes off. Some of the ancient *Romans* used to cast Ropes or Nets upon their Enemies heads, arms, or legs, and about their necks, to choke them withall, or to entangle them; and thus *Pittachus* a wise man of *Greece*, catcht *Phinon*, and overcame him with a Net, with which he catcht his Head, and so the wise man said that he had cast his Net to catch a Fish; for *Phinon* had upon his Coat of Arms a Fish, which he wore upon his Cap.

We see *David* in the Holy Scriptures meet *Goliath*, and *Hobach*, *Neptune*, two of the greatest *Philistines*; and *Jonathan*, *Semmas's* son, meet a great Gyant; and *Theoclus*, and *Pollinis*, kill'd one another; and the antipathy of these two Brothers lasted even after death: for when they went to burn them according to the Ancients custom, the flame (as I have remarkt in a Moral Philosopher) divided it self to consume them apart, as if it had been impossible

for them to agree either dead or alive, and their ashes to have been kept in the same Viol.

*Oxillus* and *Dedius*'s difference about the Scepter of the *Elians*, was decided by two men chosen for that purpose. *Arius* was killed by *Pergamus*; and *Hillus* the *Dorian*, by *Echemus* King of *Arcadia*. *Mellantus*, King of the *Messinians*, vanquish'd in a Duel *Tantus* of *Thebes*, who had challeng'd *Thuiratus*, King of *Athens*; and though he us'd more policy in his Victory over him, than courage, the *Athenians* crown'd him for all that, and reject'd *Thimates*, who was base enough to refuse the Combat, and beg his life of his Enemy. *Alexander* kill'd in a single Combat *Spitrobatus*, Emperor of *Jonia*, and *Darius*'s Son-in-law, at *Gramicus*; and under *Artaxerxes* Reign, *Darius* overcame a certain *Caducian*, with so much glory and good Fortune, that this Victory was the Empire of *Persia* in his way. *Sitibarzanus*, chief of the Rebels of the *Arrians*, was killed by *Erygius*, because he had so much presumption to challenge the valiantest man of *Macedonia*. *Saxo Germanicus* speaks of a Duel in the fifth Book of his History, and saith that *Hithinus* and *Hogins* fought a Duel, and that the first gave *Hogins* his life; but they kill'd one another seven years after that. A *Scythian* and two *Persians* were kill'd by *Scanderberg*, in King *Amurath*'s presence;

presence; and *Pyrrhus*, King of the *Epirotes*, was challeng'd by a Knight of *Mammestiu*, who was the valiantest man of all the *Sicilian Army*, and cut him in the middle, according to *Plutarch*. *William* Count of *Angoulesme*, did the same execution with his Sword upon a *Norman Knight*, armed all over with a good Cuirass, and therefore he was surnamed *Cut-iron*. *Acron* was worsted by *Romulus*, and stript of his Arms at the head of both their Armies. The *Curiaes* were beaten by the *Horaces*; *Viridomarus*, and *Briomarus*, by *Marcellus*; the General of the *Fidenates's* Cavalry, by *Cornelius Cassus*; a *Gaule*, by *Valerius Corvinus*, helpt by a Crow, who, by a strange Prodigy, fought with *Amenus*, and pecked him in the face; another *Gaule* was vanquisht by *Manlius Torquatus*; and *Quintus Catus* destroyed two *Spaniards* one after another.

*Aradion* was kill'd in a Duel by *Probus* an Emperor. *Alarick*, King of the *Goths*, by *Childerbert*, King of *France*. And *Clotarius II.* kill'd *Bersierus*, King of the *Saxons*, or the *Senes*. There came a thing to pass in *Charlemains* and *Aygalants* time King of the *Sarazens*, that's remarkable enough. This King and Emperor agreed that some Knights of both their Armies should decide their differences, and that the victorious side should impose Laws upon the vanquisht, in all manner of wayes concerning their

their interest, without excepting Religion itself, and all that which is held most sacred amongst men. Christians were the Conquerors, so that *Aygolant* and the *Sarazens* embraced immediately the Christian Religion. But one day this King seeing twelve Beggars dine by *Charlemains* Table, and inquiring what men those were that looked ill, and were so ill cloathed? The Almoner, after a long and ridiculous meditation, answer'd him that they were Gods messengers; he returned over the *Pirenean* hills, took to his first worship, and would not be any longer of a Religion, whose God he concluded was very mean, since his messengers were so poor.

*Stephen Barcellas*, in his History of the Earls of *Barcelona*, speaks of a Combat in a close Camp, with the ancient Ceremonies, betwixt *Zinophrus* of *Arria*, a Christian Knight, son to *Don Bernardo Barcin*, Count of *Barcelona*, and a black Knight, whose name was *Balzaro*, who was kill'd by *Zinophrus*, after he had challeng'd all the Christian Knights, being of opinion, That all Christendom was not able to find a man who could resist him. *Paul*, the Deacon, hath not passed by in his History the challenge of King *Cunebert*, to decide in a single Combat the difference he had with *Alachis*, who had expelled him out of his Dominions, and filled them with his Cruelties and Murthers. *William*  
Duke



Duke of *Normandy*, call'd *the Conqueror*; who began a new Race of the Kings of *England*, did no less against *Herauld*; and in Emperor *Otho's* time, a Duel decided the question, which Right could not do before; to wit, if the great Grandchildren should succeed with their Uncles, after their Fathers and Grandfathers were deceased; Fortune favoured the Childrens side: And *Titus Livius*, and *Valerius Maximus*, speak of such another succession, which was decided this way, even before *Scipio's* time, betwixt two brothers, *Corumbis* and *Osna*. *Gauftier*, Governor of *Cæsarea* in the Holy Land, after he had accused *Hugh*, Prince of *Taffus*, of High Treason, offered to prove his Accusation by a Combat: And *William*, Archbishop of *Tyr*, of whom we learn this particularity, acquaints besides in the same Chapter of his History, that *Godfroy* of *Bouillon*, fought with a Kinsman of his, for the sale of an Estate they were not agreed upon, and against others, at several times, and shewed in all his Combats proofs of an extraordinary valor. *Albert Crantz* relates in his History, that *Julia* was joined to the Crown of *Denmark*, by a Duel, in which *Roe* King of that Countrey triumphed over *Hunding*, Prince of the *Saxons*: He saith in the same place, that *Uffen*, son to *Hermond*, King of *Denmark*, had the same success against the Duke of *Saxony's* son, and a Knight, whom  
he

he fought both together, and that he drew by this happy Combat the admiration of all the World.

*Andrew du Chesne*, a French Author, informs us in his History of *England*, that *Gumhilde*, King *Canut* the second's sister, was married to *Henry*, *Conrad* the *Salick's* son, Emperor, and that she was accused of Adultery. But she resolved to vindicate her self by a single Combat, to prove her own innocence, in a close Camp; but when she saw that her Accuser was of the bigness of a Gyant, and that his stature made every one to tremble that were of her side, she engaged in her quarrel a little Boy that she had carried with her out of *England*. This youth, who could reach but little higher than his Enemies legs, ham-string'd him very ingeniously, and proved manifestly by that fortunate blow, that strength is useleſs often, where policy and cunning is used, and that it was not alwayes Thunders and Tempests that cast down Mountains, and great Trees; the Empress overjoy'd that her Virtue should be discovered, by a way that in all likelihood should have caused her to cease from being guilty, in making her cease to live, left the Emperor at that very time, and never admitted him since to her Bed, whatsoever entreaties or threatnings they could use; she took a Nunnery for her Palace, and would not accept of any

any other : shewing thereby, that she was of the same mind of that *Roman Lady*, that affirmed that it was not enough for *Cæsar's* wife to be chaste, but that she must not so much as cause a suspicion. There was a Duel between *Geoffroy Baynard* Accuser, and *William* Earl of *Eu* accused of High-Treason, in the year 1096. when young *William* King of *England*, held a very considerable Assembly at *Salisbury*; *Baynard* had the better of it, and he pull'd out his Enemies eys, and cut off those parts which Modesty doth not permit me to name, after his victory over him, and his Gentleman was hanged, after he had been whipt very cruelly. Soon after that the Pope was retired from the Council of *Constance*, there hapned a Duel betwixt *Frederick*, Duke of *Austria*, and the Earl *Harman* of *Cylin*, more for the glory of Arms, than for any private hatred, the Duke of *Austria* got the better of it, in the presence of all the Prelates, in the year 1418, *March* 22. and Count *Cylin* received there a very dangerous wound.

When *Lewis XII.* King of *France*, made War in *Italy* against the Pope, there hapned two remarkable Duels, the one was between *Don Perralto* a Spaniard, who was of the Popes Army, against *Don Aldoramus*, of the same Countrey, that was of the *Frenches* side; and both of them were wounded dangerously, and had

had both lost their lives upon the place, if they had not been fetcht out of their Camp, which was closed in by Snow. The second Duel was between two *Albanians*, one of which was of the Kings Army, and the other of the Popes; they were very well armed, after their Countrey fashion, with a Stradiot at their Arm-wrist, and their Hats in their hands: And to give you an account of their actions, saith the Marshal *Marck* in his History, the *Albanian* of the Popes side ran upon the other, and hurt his shoulder; the *Albanian* of the Kings side, when he saw himself in that condition, took his Stradiot like a Lance, and darted it at him, which hit him in the throat, and followed it close, so that at last with a great many blows, he made an end of him; and it was pity, said he, for they were counted both pretty Fellows amongst the *Albanians*. Never was a stranger blow seen, than that which *de Villars* relates concerning *Montshall* of *Vivarets*, who with his Lance run through the Knight *Carraf*'s Saddle his Gantlet, and his Cuirass. In *Francis* the first's time King of France, the Knight *Bayard*, after he had fought against the Lord *Hiacintus Simonetta*, in *Milan*, fought on foot in *Naples*, and kill'd *Don Alonzo de Santo Majores*, of the Family of *Cordova*.

Long before that time there was a Duel between *Geoffery Grisgonel*, against *Bartholus*, the Duke

Duke of *Saxony*'s brother, under the Reign of *Robert*, that the Inquisitive may find in *Belle Forest*, in the third Book of his History. *Andigier* in his Treatise of Duels, saith that *Gathranus*, King of *Burgundy*, found the blood of a Bufeloe as he went a hunting, that had been killed in the Forest of *Vogus*. The King was very angry, commanded that the chief Forester should be catcht, and that he should be put to the wrack, to force by torments a confession from his mouth, that no man could do neither by promises nor threatnings. At last he accus'd *Chadon* the Kings Chamberlain, who was put in Prison at *Thalons*: he was condemned to suffer the wrack, but he underwent it without confessing any thing, and requireth a Combat; the King granted him what he desired, but he being sick, he proposeth his Nephew, who is accepted by the Forester, and who wounded him with his Lance, he presently flew upon him to cut his Throat with a Dagger that he had at his girdle, but he ran it in his own body, in struggling and tormenting of himself with the other.

*Chadon* being fled after this Adventure, he King commanded to follow and catch him; he was taken as he was going to save himself in *St. Marcells Church*; he was tyed to a Post by the Kings order, and stoned to death by the people, and thus three men dyed for *Buffloe*.

*Alphonsus*

*Alphonſus* in his Book *de vero honore militari*, ſaith a Gentleman of *Germany*, Maſter of the Emperor *Henry* the Fifths Wardrobe, fell in love with the Empreſs *Matilla*, alias *Metilla*, his Maſters Wife, and the King of *Englands* daughter, he took his opportunity to diſcover his paſſion to her : but ſhe rejected and threatened him, and adviſed him to put off that love that would coſt him his life. But his kindneſs turned into fury, he accuſed *Metilla* of Adultery, offers to prove his Accuſation by a Combat; and that which is no leſs ſtrange and ſurprizing, there was never a Knight that proffered himſelf to maintain the Empreſſes honour, although it was known all over *Germany*, *Italy* and *England*. *Remond Berranger*, Count of *Barcelona*, being toucht with the Empreſſes Miſfortune, went ſome time after incognito to the Emperors Court, put on a Fryers habit to go ſee *Metilla*, who was cloſe Priſoner in a Tower, examin'd her, neither diſcovering himſelf by his name, nor by his intention and deſign : but that very day he fought the *German*, and forced him to declare the Empreſs innocent, and to confeſs his own crime. After that glorious action, he returned his way home, without making himſelf known; and for all that the Emperor and Empreſs ſought him everywhere, to recompence his virtue, he contented himſelf with a private ſatisfaction, that he

he had done what he ought to do, and desired no other acknowledgments and applauses. Some other Historians are of a contrary opinion, and maintain that the Emperor gave him the County of *Provence*, which ever since hath been inherited by his Descendants.

Some Ages before *Archambot Vicecount Turenne* fought many Duels, he fought one amongst the rest, for the vindication of *Mary of Arragon*, Emperor *Otho* the third's Wife, who was accused of Adultery. He was extraordinary happy in his Combats; and the Empresses virtue was very much obliged to that of this Knight, who protected her against all them that would make her pass for a Criminal. It was she her self for all this, that accused the Duke of *Modena*, to have exprest some love to her, and that caused him to dye, having invented that Crime against him. That Dukes Lady being troubled in mind for that imposture, and for the accident that followed it, demanded justice of the Emperor some time after, in that general Assembly of all *Italy* upon the River *Pau*, near *Plaisance*; she profered to prove her deceased Husbands innocency by Fire, as the ancient custom was: and the truth was no sooner found, but *Mary of Arragon* was burnt in the Nine hundred and eighty sixth year, and that this worthy Widow was recompensed with four Castles, and esteemed of all

those that thought to pity her. Criticks would, may be, suspend their belief, if the truth of it was not confirmed by *Viterbus* in his universal Chronicle; by *Sigoignus* in his History of the Kingdom of *Italy*; and by *Strada* in the life of the Emperor *Otho* the third.

*Gondeberg*, a French Princess, *Erioldus's* Royal Consort, King of *Lombardy*, had in her Retinue, a Gentleman of that Countrey, whom she esteemed much, and who grew so insolent of her favor, that he was impertinent enough to entertain the Queen of Love. *Gondeberg* surprized at his discourse, did spit in his face, and threatned that bold Fellow; who, to prevent her, told the King that the Queen designed to attempt upon his life; and that he should take heed of her private intelligences, for she had a mind to poyson him, that she might be joined to *Taso*, Governor of *Tuscany*. The King caused *Gondeberg* to be laid fast in a Castle, at the first report that was made to him by *Adulphus*. King *Clotanius*, the last of that name, sent Ambassadors to *Ernoldus*, to tell him that he ought not to imprison that Queen who was his King-woman, because she was descended from the Kings of *Austrasia*, of the Family of *France*, and that she could not be punished for a Crime of which she was not convinced. *Lancelotus*, one of the Ambassadors, obtained of the King that one on the behalf of that fair and virtuous Queen,



Queen, should challenge the Accuser to fight a Duel, and at that time *Arribert* the Queens Cousin threw down his Glove for a pledge; *Adalulphus* took it up, but he was vanquish't by *Arribert*, and afterwards hanged; and the Queen, after three years imprisonment, was delivered from her fears and troubles. Under the Reign of *Lewis* the Stutterer, King of France, a Countess of *Gastinois*, *Jndgelger's* Wife, and Godmother to *Jndgelger* Duke of *Anjou*, was accused to have had a hand in her Husbands death, murthered in his Bed, and found dead by her. *Gontran*, nearest of kin to the deceased, was the Accuser; and though the Countess offered to justifie her self by her Oath, the King found this accident so strange, that he ordered her to find out a man for her defence. When all hopes were lost for the Countess, and that there was no man that presented himself to fight for her, at last *Jndgelger*, Earl of *Anjou*, her Godson, who was but 16 years of age, proffer'd himself to engage against *Gontran*, one of the most valiant and esteem'd of his age, attacks him in the Kings, and all the Courts presence, casteth him down at his feet, cuts off his head, delivered the Countess out of Prison, and saved at the same time both her honour and life.

I will not speak here of all the Duels that have been fought for the Honour of Ladies;

do but read *Herodotus*, that, amongst others, relates that *Calisthenes*, the Tyrant of *Siciona*, publisht at the Olympic Sports, that he would give his daughter *Aganista* in marriage to him that should be Victor. This publick Declaration made 13 Princes to come and try their Valor for her, and as *Calisthenes* had promised, she was given to the valiantest. *Idas* and *Lynceus*, fought against *Castor* and *Polux*, for *Lemippus's* two daughters; *Hercules* fought *Achelous*, for *Dejamra*; and *Theseus* against *Minotaurus*, for *Ariadna*. There was a Combat between *Mene-laüs* and *Paris*, for fair *Helena*; *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* fought a Duel for *Briseis*; and *Virgil* doth not omit that of *Aeneas* and *Turnus*, for *Lavinia*.

A great Volume would scarce be sufficient, if I should speak in particular of the Duels that have been fought by persons of all degrees and qualities, and of all Ages, whose Lives Death receives every day still by the hands of Fortune: But we have insisted too long upon this brutish Valor, and enraged Virtue; we must pass from Arms, to Learning; and from the Camp, to Academies.

## C H A P. XI.

*Of the Misfortunes that have befallen the Learned.*

I Cannot apprehend why the greatest Men have regarded Arts so little, when they were become Masters of them, nor by what principles they have cast an horror in our minds, of that which they made their greatest glory. We read in *Philostratus*, that *Euphratus* did advise above all things *Vespasian*, to reject all other Philosophy, but that which treated of the secrets of nature; and *Varron* did affirm, that there was no dreams, nor nothing so foolish, which had not been left by some sect of Philosophers; *Tertullian* terms them, *the Patriarchs of Heresse*; *Agripina* perswaded *Othavian*, to avoid them; and the Emperor *Valantinian*, *Heraclidus*, *Ditius*, and *Philonidas* called them *Publick Plagues*; *Sylla* and *Nero* did repent, for the time they had lost in Learning; *Michael* the Stutterer, King of *France*; forbade the use of it; and all Men know, that another King of that Country, would not permit his Son to learn above three Latin words, which have this sence, *That who can't Dissemble; can't Reign*: True it is, that

we have in our finest Libraries; many ridiculous things of the Ancients; that some Men have not much benefited themselves, nor us neither, that have taken a great deal of labor to write whole Volumes, about the last Letter of the Alphabet Z: to make it plain whether *H.* is to be pronounced with an aspiration if *Penelopus* was unchaste, and that *Didimus*, who hath composed four thousand Books, might have employed his time better, than in endeavoring to shew us in some of them, what Country *Homer* was born in, who was *Aeneas's* Mother, if *Sapho* was a common Whore? and if *Anachreon*; whose Lechery and Drunkenness he compared, loved the Bed better then the Table; others have written as silly things as him, but we must confess also, that we have fine things left us by Antiquity, that their Wits have formed ours, and that we should know less remarkable things if they had written less. Nevertheless, they have all been used ill, either by Envy, or Fortune; Envy hath spied great Vices in them, and great faults in their Books, and their ill reputation hath made but the least of their disgraces.

*Pithagoras*, went as far as *Persia*, to learn Magick; and as *Cneus Terrentius* had found in his field, the Body and the Books of *Numa Papius*, which he took notice of by some Characters,

rafters, upon the bark of a tree, five hundred and thirty five years after his death; and seeing that these Books contained no other thing, but the opinion of this Philosopher, *Pettilius* the Prettor, burnt them by his Ordonnance. *Socrates*, who by the Oracle of *Apollo*, was found the only wise Man in the World, was for all that, foolish enough to marry out of pity *Aristides* Daughter, whose name was *Mirabo*; because she found no other Man to Marry her, and at the same time Married another; and was counted an Usurer by *Cicero*, inconstant by *Plato*, and obscure by *Xenophon*, and by *Athenes*, for an ignorant Man, by *Aristophanis* for a malicious Man, and by the Magician *Tertamus*, for a Robber, for a barbarous Man, and for an Adulterer. *Plato*, whom *Clement Alexander* of *Alexandria*, terms the *Moses* of *Athens*, and called by *Arnobus*, the Christian Philosopher, is not looked upon as a wise Man by *St. Jerome*, and some others after him, as *Scaliger* have thought, that there was no more brains in his head, then method in his Dialogues; *Xenophon* saith, that he was guilty of the abominations of *Egypt*; *Athenes* accuseth him of envy; *Aristophanus* of Impiety; *Theopompus* of Falshood; *Suidas* of Covetousness; *Anusgellus* of Theft, and *Porphirius* of Incontinency. *Aristotle*, who according to some Historians, hath written four hundred

Volumes, and who for the Book of Animals, which he composed, received of *Alexander*, eight hundred Talents, which amount in Sterling Money, to one hundred and twenty thousand pound, was had afterwards in no greater veneration than the former; and *Laertius*, *Tertullian* in his Treaty of the Soul; *Albert* the great, in his mirror of Astronomy; *Averroeu* in his Poetry; *Landantius* in his Book of Justice; *Cicero* and *Plutarch* have done what they could, to make his ambition his ignorance, and his vanity publickly known. Some men have disputed the Illads of *Homer*; and said, that he was not the author of them, but a certain Poet named *Lescheus*, or *Elorvinus* of *Samos*; and *Thevet* is of opinion, that he borrowed all his Works, from *Hesiodus*; grounded doubtless upon this reason, that this last hath first written of the Nature and Birth of the gods; and that *Aristophanus* speaking of the ancientest Poets, began his Decalogue with *Orpheus*, *Hesiodus*, by *Muscus*, and then *Homer*. The Emperor *Claudius*, could not suffer his Verses, and as *Plato* had expelled him from his Republick, *Adrian* did what lay in his power, to suppress his works, and to annul his memory, though *Cleomenes* spoke in better terms of him, when he said, That *Homer* was the Lacedemonians Poet, because he taught the use of Arms; and *Hesiodus* the Ilotes, that were

were poor Slaves, because he treated of manuring the ground. *Sophocles* was summoned before the Magistrats by his Children, to force him to admit of a Guardian, like a Child; a Lady whose name was *Corinna*, that *Eurigidus* had challenged publicly, to make Verses with her at *Thebes*, won the prize of him six times, for the glory of the *Greek Poets*, of whose party she was. To be brief, the most part blame *Hesiod's* Stories; the partiality of *Sophocles*, *Pindarus* vanity, and the overmuch talking of *Euripides*; *Ennius* was counted a Drunkard; *Horace* mocks *Plautus*; *Virgil* had no judgment nor skill in Sciences, if we may believe *Carbilus*, *Pliney*, *Seneca*, and *St. Jerom.* *Horace* is so obscure, and so fabulous, that *St. Ambrose*, had his Books burnt, and *Quintilian*, *Martial*, and *Servius*, maintained that *Lucan*, might rather be counted an Orator, then a Poet. Most men read *Pliney* as a Romance, and this man cannot endure *Diodorus*; *Vopiscus* in the beginning of his *Aurelian*, not excepting so much as *Salustus*, *Titus Livius*, nor *Tacitus* saith, that they have all committed some falsehood, in regard of history. *Herodotus* and *Plutarch* are suspected of flattery; and *Josephus* saith, that an Historian, to write the truth, should be of no Country, nor City, and have no King. *Cicero* who was slow to be moved, and rarely in a passion, hath made several faults

in his writings, he was cold in his reproofs, slow in his expressions, and long in his digressions, and did not practice all the rules of art, as *Seneca*, *Lipsius*, *Muret*, and *Bembus* affirm of him. *Grachus* could do nothing without his slave. *Quintillian* sold all his Secrets and Skill; *Vatronus* was counted a Swine, by *Rhemius Palemon*: *Apuleius* an ignorant man, by *Severus* the Emperor; and if we should examine all other Orators, we should find that this was but imperfect productions. It is much that to defame Philosophers, every one casteth their verdict upon them; some say, that *Plato* is doubtful, some that *Aristotle* dives too deep, some that *Zenon* is too severe, and some that *Epicurus* is too lascivious; it is much more to say, that Poets are Cheats, Orators self-ended, and Historians partial; but it is far worse, that most part of those great men are dead shamefully, and in great Torments; that they have found Tyrants and Executioners, where they might expect, by their merits, friends and protectors, and that those miracles of nature, should have been Fortunes pastime.

*Nero*, by the persuasions of his Favorite, put *Plantus Brissus* Grandchild to death, because he turned a Stoick; and the Tyrant *Phalaris*, commanded that *Zenons* should loose his life, for all he was the author of their Religion. *Anaxagoras*, *Phostion*, and *Socrates*, were  
poisoned



poysoned by the ingratitude of their Country; and *Pantallcon* the Poet was put in an Iron cage, and carried up and down till he dyed like a Savage, because he took upon him to speak of *Arfur's* life, in way of reproofe; who was *Licimachus* Wife. *Anaxarchus* was pounded in a Morter, by the cruelty and command of *Nicocreontes*; *Archimedes* was killed by *Marcellus's* Souldiers; *Pithagoras* was assassinated amongst threescore of his Disciples, and *Plato* was sold like a slave, by *Dengs* of *Siracuse*. *Aristotle* drowned himself for despair in *Eurippe*; *Baldus* dyed in mad fits. *Senecus* opened his Veins to obey *Nero*, who commanded his death absolutely. And *Cicero* had his Tongue, his Hands, and his Head cut off, by the command of *Mark Anthony*: *Ainius* was tore Limb from Limb, in *Tiberius's* time. *Papinian* a Counsellor, lost his life miserably, by the command of an Emperor; and great *Hermolans Barbarus*, was banisht from *Venice*, because he accepted too privately the Patriarchship of *Aquillea*. *Peter Leon* of *spoletta* leapt into a Well, *Sir Tho. More* was Beheaded in *England*: *Erasmus* died in banishment: *Hesiodus*, was knockt on the Head, at a Woods end; and *Savonarola* was burnt at *Florence*, by *Pope Alexander's* order. *Euripides* was devoured by Dogs, after he came from supper with the King *Archelaus*: the Poet *Alc-*  
*man,*

man, *Pherricides* the Divine, and *Mutius* Counsellor, were eaten up with Vermin; and *Averroes* was crusht to death, with a Cart wheel that ran over him. *Domistus* Caldery dyed with the Plague; *Anacreon* was choaked with a Grape; *Anachassus* of an Apoplexy; and old *Æschillus* had his head bruised in pieces, by a Tortoise, that an Eagle dropt upon him in the fields. *Thalus* died for thirst: *John Tisser*, who made himself recommendable, and had got a great reputation by his works, dyed in an Hospital: and the two greatest men of our age, *Lilins Gregorins Geraldus*, in Italy; and *Sebastianus Castalio* in Germany, might have lived longer, had they had food. *Ovid* ended his days miserably; *Archilaus* having been whipt publickly in *Lacedemonia*, was banisht thence, for maintaining that it was more glorious to yield, and to lay down ones Arms, then to dye in a Combat. *Empedocles* burnt himself upon Mount *Gibell*: and *Æsop* was thrown down a Precipice, like a Thief, by the Inhabitants of *Delphios*. *Amphicratus* having been banisht from *Athenes*, from *Selencia*, and *Armenia*, was starved for want of Food: *Democritus* pull'd his own eyes out; *Asclepiadus* broke his own Neck: *Leoninus* and *Catullus*, drown'd themselves in a Well: and *Politian* to put an end to his miseries, dasht his Brains out against a wall. Poet *Cassius* was murdered in  
his

his Chamber by *Quintilius Varrus*, by *Augustus's* Command: *Homer* and *Diodorus* died for madness, the first, because he could not find out the meaning of a Riddle of some Fishermen, and the other, because he could not answer *Stilbon's* question. *Adrian* had that great Architect of *Apollodorus* executed; and *Denys* King of *Syracuse*, put the Poet *Philoxenus* to a cruel death, for his finding fault with a Book that he made, with more Judgment then Modesty. *Heraclides*, who during his Gouts and other Infirmities, had caused himself to be sowed up in an Oxes skin, was devoured by Dogs, who took him for some beast; *Bartholomew Cloclus*, had his Throat cut by *Hermes's* order, whilst he was telling him his Fortune; and *Calisthenes* the Philosopher expired in Torments, for refusing to adore *Alexander* his Master, as others did; in brief, if we mind all the famous men of former ages, we shall find, that their Deaths will excite our astonishment and our tears; that the greatest Sciences, have been the less respected, and that those who have taught the finest things, have suffered the most cruel and the most unjust.

## C H A P. XII.

*Of Misfortunes hapned to Ladies, considerable by their Virtue, Dignities, or Birth.*

**I**T is a most strange thing, that the beautiful-  
lest Sex of Nature, hath not been the most  
respected by Fortune. That this sweet scourge  
of men, hath been their horror, as well as their  
love; and that we read in Histories, that so  
many Illustrious and Noble Ladies, have been  
the Victims of Tyranny and Vengeance. *Ti-  
berius*, who made Adulteries and Revels his di-  
vertisement and pastime, being taken with the  
beauty of *Mallonia* a Roman Lady, sent some of  
his Guards to corrupt her, or to bring her a-  
way by force; and as those Villains, after ma-  
ny outrages, had brought her into his Palace, he  
did what lay in his power to gain her love, by  
his promises, and his threats. That fair and  
chaste Lady, who did not so much regard the  
Emperor, as her own reputation, denied him  
all his desires, puts off his addresles and en-  
treaties, and shewed him, that she ought not to  
obey him, so far as to betray her virtue and  
happines. *Tiberius* taking her reasons for so  
many offences, caused his Domesticks to ravish  
her; and as he had sought without effect all the  
wayes

ways to satisfy his Brutality, he found this to satisfy his Cruelty. *Mallonia* went home, cast down with despair; and the excess of her sorrow not permitting her to express her resentment, she killed herself, to inform all men of it that had a desire to know it, and so triumph in the loss of herself, of the insolence and rage of that barbarous man. *Justinia*, who was counted the miracle of *Rome*, was as unhappy, and was no guiltier than she; her Parents began her disgraces, and her own Husband was at last, her Executioner. Not to appear disobedient, she was forced to marry a man that could not imagine that she should be so long handsome, and continue virtuous; nor that she could exercise so much love, and not receive some also: and that by a particular privilege, she should appear so happily with gallantry and chastity together: One day examining her, he apprehended her Caresses to be but feigned, her Modesty for a private conspiracy, and her Coldness for apparent hatred. If she embraced him, he thought her unchaste; and if she did not, he thought her his enemy. She seems to him to be too melancholy at home, too gay and too free in company, too inquisitive in Temples, too courteous in the Streets; and wheresoever she is without him, too credulous and confident. His jealousy went further yet; being

being not able to put it out of his mind, he put *Justinia* out of the World, ran her through with his Sword, and threw her down dead upon the ground. *Trebia* dyed for the same Subject, but not in the same manner, saith *Poliphilus*: Being married to a Nobleman, whose actions were below his birth, she found so much satisfaction in her marriage, that she grew jealous of his Caresses, and thought he did divide his love. She charged her Husband with inconstancy and perfidy, without having any evidence of it, and stabbed her self in his presence with a Bayonete, uttering these words, which were her last: *Thou wouldst not have been suspected by me, if my Genius had not discover'd to me thy scorns; Farewell, I wish thee no other punishment, but that thou mayst be as happy, as I have been faithful to thee.*

*Venusa*, a Lady of *Cyprus*, who for her beauty had been promised to the Grand Signior *Selvin*, by his Lieutenant General *Mahomet*, when he had taken *Nicosia* by storm, and that Lady in it, she burnt her self, to avoid falling into that barbarous mans hands. *Adrochia*, and *Alcidida*, daughters to *Antipennus* Prince of *Thebes*, killed themselves generously, to prevent by that means, the utmost ruine of their Countrey, and desolation of their City.

*Ensebia* dipt her hands in her own blood, because she would not yield to the Emperor *Maxentius's* passion.

*Rubellia*, *Sextus Marius's* daughter, chose rather to die, than to suffer *Tiberius's* Caresses : And chaste *Osona* of *Smirna*, was kill'd by a Soldier, upon her Husbands Tomb, as she was bedewing it with tears.

When *Cinna Patus* was condemned to dye, and that he had no other favor shewed him, but only to choose his death ; *Aria* his Wife seeing he had nothing more to hope for, nor to fear, counselled him to yield generously to Tyranny, and to follow Destiny without constraint, since it was not in his power to strive against it without disgrace. After she had shewn him by reason, that Death was not so terrible as he might imagine ; she shewed him by example too : and so pulling out a Dagger that she had provided for that purpose, pierced her Breast with it, and pulling of it out full of blood, presented it to him, with a settled countenance, uttering these words : *This hath done me no hurt, my dear Husband ; but what thou art going to do, killeth me.*

*Sejania*, daughter to that unfortunate Favorite of *Tiberius*, who was promised in marriage to *Clodius*, had a stranger disgrace ; the Emperor, who thought of nothing but the loss of

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that

that ambitious persons memory, by that of his Family, of his Relations, and of his Friends, considered neither her youth, nor her Sex, nor whether it was more just to pity her, than to punish her: it was enough that she was *Sejan's* daughter, to be guilty, and to deserve death, because she had a regret for her Fathers life: The Emperor put her to death, how innocent soever she was; and as if that injustice had not been great enough to testifie his resentment, he caused her to be ravish'd by the Hangman before her death publickly at the place where she was executed.

The History of *Suplicia* is less horrible than that of *Sejan's*, but yet is fit it should follow: That passionate *Roman* disguised her self in mans Apparel, and against her mother and friends counsel, got away to see her Husband *Lentulus Constelion*, who by the persecution of the Triumvirat, had been unhappily transported into *Sicilia*: She was no sooner come there, and known, but she was taken, and condemned to death with her Husband; but when she saw that he had received the first blow, she flew upon his body by an incredible excess of love; and having opened her Breast with a Poyniard, to die with him, and to prevent the Executioners cruelty, *Stay for me*, said she, *my dear Sejan, dost thou not know me, I am thy companion?* *Jane,*



*Jane*, Queen of *Spain*, and mother to the Emperor *Charles V.* and *Ferdinando*, died in Prison, because she had shaved King *Philips* her Husband Mifs.

*Harmonia*, *Gelon* King of *Syracuse*'s daughter, was massacred by her own people: And *Lais*, that miracle of *Sicily*, who made all the Philosophers of *Athens* her Gallants, was knockt on the head by Women, who hated her, because she was extreme handsom.

*Lucretia* kill'd herself, not to survive her disgrace and dishonour: And *Portia*, not to survive her Husband, swallow'd some burning Coals, and made her self a Beverage of flames, because she could get no poyson to drink.

When *Acolin*, Tyrant of *Padona*, had taken *Bastana*, a Town of *Italy*, he found there fair *Rubea*, who, to revenge the death of her dear Husband, who had been killed in the breach, did defend still with her Sword in her hand, and her Cask upon her head, that liberty that she had left. This modern Amazon, had often before done the office of a Commander and Soldier; she had fought her own and her Countries liberty, and had left nothing undone, that could witness that Valor affected no Sex particularly, and that a Pike was not disgraced by the spinning Staff: After *Acolin* had admired afar off her courage, when he came nearer, he

admired her beauty much more ; of an Usurper, he became her Slave ; and though he could command her by the right of Arms, he sought for all that the means to win her Love : he caressed, pressed, and threatned her, but all his transports were in vain : this generous Woman possesseth in her, as three inseparable graces, Virtue, Valor and Beauty, and makes no other use of her courage, but to oppose the violence of that Servant, who would make use of her with the authority of a Master. But at last perceiving by some circumstances, that she was undone, if she did undo herself ; and that *Acolin* was resolved to deny nothing to his Passion, and to his Tyranny, she precipitated herself out of an high Window in a Garden, that she might berid of his hands, in being bereft of her life ; and to shew him, that she loved death better than him : nevertheless she did not die at that time, her fall being a disadvantage to her, in that it was not mortal. *Acolin* took her again, bound her fast, and got of her by force, that which he could not obtain by entreaties, and by that means satisfied his Love and Vengeance. *Rubea* concealing her resentment, beg'd of Friends awhile after to let her go see her Husbands Tomb ; where she no sooner came, but she took up the top stone, fell upon his Corps half eaten by Worms, and  
taking

taking away that which supported the stone she had taken up, she let the stone fall upon her head, and so it dashed out her brains: and thus she herself made her own Grave and Tomb. Wife *Agrippina* was constrained by the cruelty of *Tiberius*, to be injurious to herself, so far as to be her own Executioner. *Olympias*, *Alexander's* mother, *Besana* and *Roxana* were murdered by *Cassander's* ambition; *Theffalonicia*, this mans mother, by the order of her own child; *Ottavia* and *Popea*, by their Husbands command; and *Lucia*, that good *Drusus's* sister, who was victorious over the *Parthians*, died by an unheard of accident; as she held her Child in her Arms, he struck her innocently with his double Fist upon the Breast, and caus'd a Needle she had stuck there to run so deep, that he kill'd her, thinking only to play with her. One of *Reney's* daughters, Duke of *Lorrain*, who was married to a King of *England*, after she had been banisht from the Kingdom, beg'd all her life-time. A Chancellor of *Britain's* Wife, lived by Charity all her dayes too. And unfortunate *Hecuba*, *Priam's* mother, after the *Greeks* Victory, was forced, according to *Seneca*, to end her dayes in servitude. *Francillia*, *Servius Tullus's* Wife, and *Empolis*, *Nicias* the *Athenians* sons Wife, were both slain by their Chamber Roofs that fell upon them the first

night of their Wedding. *Bajazet's* Wife became the divertisement of *Tamerlain's* Army. *Anne of Boloigne*, Queen of England, had her head cut off by an Hangman. And *Mary Stuart*, Queen of Scotland, lost hers upon a Scaffold, for being suspected of private intelligence with *Spain*. We could add a number of examples of this nature, as so many proofs of the inconstancy of all things; but we have sufficiently spoke of them to awaken the most stupified, and to confound the most incredulous. And since we have seen by the decay of so many Empires, the Ruines of the greatest Cities, and the Misfortune of so many gallant Persons, that Valor, Riches, Honours, Learning and Beauty, are perishable Goods, or burthensom; we may be sure that there's nothing upon earth that's shot-proof against the Adventures of Fortune; that our happiness is often turned to our hurt; and that we have sometimes no more reason to wish for her, than to fear her.

*Ego Deus & non mutor*, Malach. 3.

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